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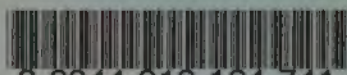
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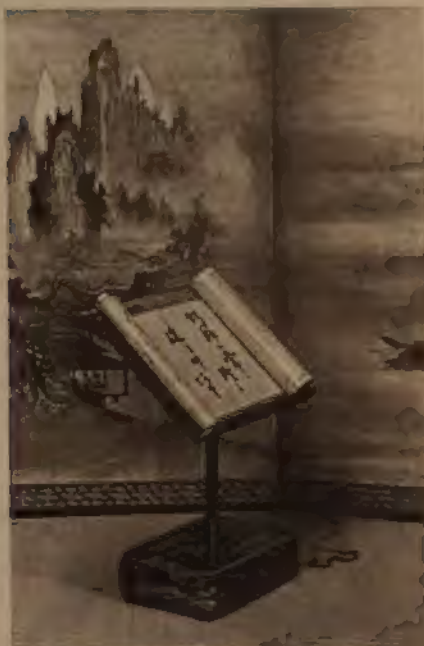
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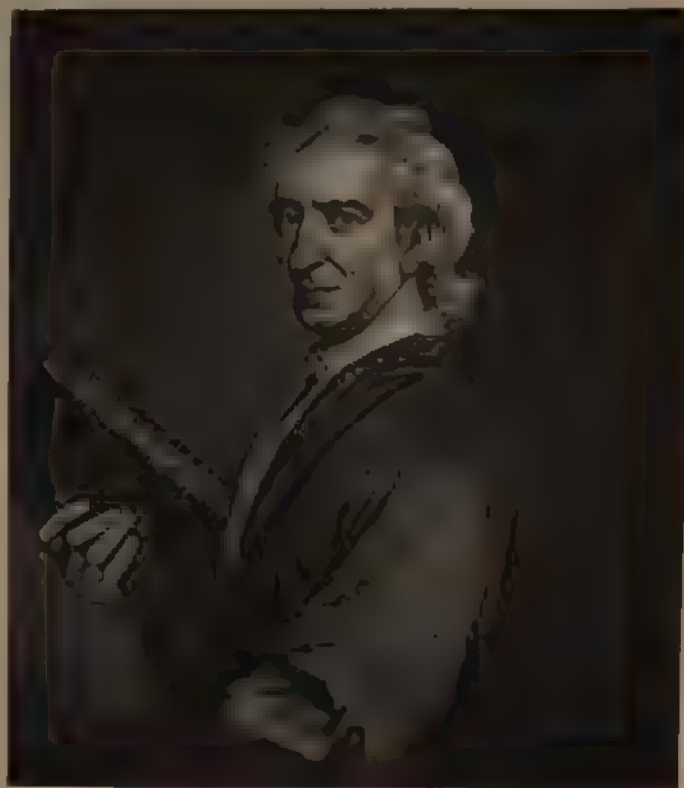
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THE DIARY
OF
JOHN EVELYN
(1677 TO 1706)





*John Evelyn
after Sir G. Kneller*

THE DIARY
OF
JOHN EVELYN

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

AUSTIN DOBSON

HON. LL.D. EDIN.

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. III

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THE
DIARY OF JOHN EVELYN

1676-7 : 8th *February*. I went to Roehampton, with my lady Duchess of Ormonde. The garden and perspective is pretty, the prospect most agreeable.

15th *May*. Came the Earl of Peterborough,¹ to desire me to be a trustee for Lord Viscount Mordaunt and the Countess, for the sale of certain lands set out by Act of Parliament, to pay debts.

12th *June*. I went to London, to give the Lord Ambassador Berkeley (now returned from the treaty at Nimeguen) an account of the great trust reposed in me during his absence, I having received and remitted to him no less than £20,000 to my no small trouble and loss of time, that during his absence, and when the Lord Treasurer was no great friend [of his] I yet procured him great sums, very often soliciting his Majesty in his behalf ; looking after the rest of his estates and concerns entirely, without once accepting any kind of acknowledgment, purely upon the request of my dear friend, Mr. Godolphin. I returned with abundance of thanks and professions from my Lord Berkeley and my Lady.

29th. This business being now at an end, and myself delivered from that intolerable servitude

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 119.]

and correspondence, I had leisure to be somewhat more at home and to myself.

3rd July. I sealed the deeds of sale of the manor of Bletchingley to Sir Robert Clayton,¹ for payment of Lord Peterborough's debts, according to the trust of the Act of Parliament.

16th. I went to Wotton.—*22nd.* Mr. Evans, curate of Abinger, preached an excellent sermon on Matt. v. 12. In the afternoon, Mr. Higham² at Wotton catechised.

26th. I dined at Mr. Duncomb's, at Sheere,³ whose house stands environed with very sweet and quick streams.

29th. Mr. Bohun, my son's late tutor, preached at Abinger, on Phil. iv. 8, very elegantly and practically.

5th August. I went to visit my Lord Brouncker, now taking the waters at Dulwich.

9th. Dined at the Earl of Peterborough's the day after the marriage of my Lord of Arundel to Lady Mary Mordaunt, daughter to the Earl of Peterborough.⁴

28th. To visit my Lord Chamberlain,⁵ in Suffolk; he sent his coach and six to meet and bring me from St. Edmund's Bury to Euston.⁶

29th. We hunted in the Park and killed a very fat buck.—*31st.* I went a-hawking.

4th September. I went to visit my Lord Crofts,⁷ now dying at St. Edmund's Bury, and took the opportunity to see this ancient town, and the

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 117. There is a florid monument to Sir Robert Clayton (Dryden's *Ishban*) in Bletchingley Church (St. Mary's). It was erected during his lifetime.]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 68.]

³ [See *post*, under 1st July, 1694.]

⁴ [She was afterwards divorced by her husband, being then Duchess of Norfolk (see *post*, under April, 1700).]

⁵ [Lord Arlington.]

⁶ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 330.]

⁷ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 17.]

remains of that famous monastery and abbey. There is little standing entire, save the gatehouse; it has been a vast and magnificent Gothic structure, and of great extent. The gates are wood, but quite plated over with iron. There are also two stately churches, one especially.

5th September. I went to Thetford, to the borough-town, where stand the ruins of a religious house: there is a round mountain artificially raised, either for some castle, or monument, which makes a pretty landscape. As we went and returned, a tumbler showed his extraordinary address in the Warren. I also saw the Decoy; much pleased with the stratagem.

7th. There dined this day at my Lord's one Sir John Gawdie,¹ a very handsome person, but quite dumb, yet very intelligent by signs, and a very fine painter; he was so civil and well bred, as it was not possible to discern any imperfection by him. His lady and children were also there, and he was at church in the morning with us.

9th. A stranger preached at Euston Church, and fell into a handsome panegyric on my Lord's new building the church, which indeed for its elegance and cheerfulness, is one of the prettiest country churches in England. My Lord told me his heart smote him that, after he had bestowed so much on his magnificent palace there, he should see God's House in the ruin it lay in. He has also re-built the parsonage-house, all of stone, very neat and ample.

10th. To divert me, my Lord would needs carry me to see Ipswich, when we dined with one Mr. Mann by the way, who was Recorder of the town. There were in our company my Lord Huntingtower, son to the Duchess of Lauderdale,

¹ [Sir John Gawdie, 1639-1708. He was a pupil of Lely, and deaf as well as dumb.]

Sir Edward Bacon, a learned gentleman of the family of the great Chancellor Verulam, and Sir John Felton, with some other Knights and Gentlemen. After dinner, came the Bailiff and Magistrates in their formalities with their maces to compliment my Lord, and invite him to the town-house, where they presented us a collation of dried sweetmeats and wine, the bells ringing, etc. Then, we went to see the town, and first, the Lord Viscount Hereford's house,¹ which stands in a park near the town, like that at Brussels, in Flanders; the house not great, yet pretty, especially the hall. The stews for fish succeed one another, and feed one the other, all paved at bottom. There is a good picture of the Blessed Virgin in one of the parlours, seeming to be of Holbein or some good master. Then we saw the Haven, seven miles from Harwich. The tide runs out every day, but the bedding being soft mud, it is safe for shipping and a station. The trade of Ipswich is for the most part Newcastle coals, with which they supply London; but it was formerly a clothing town. There is not any beggar asks alms in the whole place, a thing very extraordinary, so ordered by the prudence of the Magistrates. It has in it fourteen or fifteen beautiful churches: in a word, it is for building, cleanness, and good order, one of the best towns in England. Cardinal Wolsey was a butcher's son of Ipswich, but there is little of that magnificent Prelate's foundation here, besides a school and I think a library, which I did not see. His intentions were to build some great thing. We returned late to Euston, having travelled about fifty miles this day.

¹ ["There is one pretty good house of y^e Earle of Herrifords that marry'd one of Mr. Norborns Daughters, that was Killed by S^r Tho: Montgomery" (*Diary of Celia Fiennes* (1689-94), 1888, 117).]

Since first I was at this place,¹ I found things exceedingly improved. It is seated in a bottom between two graceful swellings, the main building being now in the figure of a Greek Π with four pavilions, two at each corner, and a break in the front, railed and balustered at the top, where I caused huge jars to be placed full of earth to keep them steady upon their pedestals between the statues, which make as good a show as if they were of stone, and, though the building be of brick, and but two stories besides cellars, and garrets covered with blue slate, yet there is room enough for a full court, the offices and outhouses being so ample and well disposed. The King's apartment is painted *a fresco* and magnificently furnished. There are many excellent pictures of the great masters. The gallery is a pleasant, noble room: in the break, or middle, is a billiard-table, but the wainscot, being of fir, and painted, does not please me so well as Spanish oak without paint. The chapel is pretty, the porch descending to the gardens. The orange-garden is very fine, and leads into the green-house, at the end of which is a hall to eat in, and the conservatory some hundred feet long, adorned with maps, as the other side is with the heads of the Cæsars, ill cut in alabaster; above, are several apartments for my Lord, Lady, and Duchess,² with kitchens and other offices below, in a lesser form; lodgings for servants, all distinct, for them to retire to when they please, and would be in private, and have no communication with the palace, which he tells me he will wholly resign to his son-in-law and daughter, that charming young creature.

The canal running under my lady's dressing-room chamber window, is full of carps and fowl,

¹ [See *ante*, p. 2.]

² His daughter, the Duchess of Grafton (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 350).

which come and are fed there. The cascade at the end of the canal turns a corn-mill, that provides the family, and raises water for the fountains and offices. To pass this canal into the opposite meadows, Sir Samuel Morland¹ has invented a screw-bridge, which, being turned with a key, lands you fifty feet distant at the entrance of an ascending walk of trees, a mile in length, as it is also on the front into the park, of four rows of ash trees, and reaches to the park-pale, which is nine miles in compass, and the best for riding and meeting the game that I ever saw. There were now of red and fallow deer almost a thousand, with good covert, but the soil barren and flying sand, in which nothing will grow kindly. The tufts of fir, and much of the other wood, were planted by my direction, some years before. This seat is admirably placed for field-sports, hawking, hunting or racing. The mutton is small, but sweet. The stables hold thirty horses and four coaches. The out-offices make two large quadrangles, so as servants never lived with more ease and convenience; never master more civil. Strangers are attended and accommodated as at their home, in pretty apartments furnished with all manner of conveniences and privacy.

There is a library full of excellent books; bathing-rooms, elaboratory, dispensary, a decoy, and places to keep and fat fowl in. He had now in his new church (near the garden) built a dormitory, or vault, with several repositories, in which to bury his family.

In the expense of this pious structure, the church is most laudable, most of the Houses of God in this country resembling rather stables and thatched cottages than temples in which to serve the Most High. He has built a lodge in the park

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 276.]

for the keeper, which is a neat dwelling, and might become any gentleman. The same has he done for the parson, little deserving it for murmuring that my Lord put him some time out of his wretched hovel, whilst it was building. He has also erected a fair inn at some distance from his palace, with a bridge of stone over a river near it, and repaired all the tenants' houses, so as there is nothing but neatness and accommodations about his estate, which I yet think is not above £1500 a year. I believe he had now in his family one hundred domestic servants.

His lady (being one of the Brederode's daughters, grandchild to a natural son of Henry Frederick, Prince of Orange) is a good-natured and obliging woman.¹ They love fine things, and to live easily, pompously, and hospitably; but, with so vast expense, as plunges my Lord into debts exceedingly. My Lord himself is given into no expensive vice but building, and to have all things rich, polite, and princely. He never plays, but reads much, having the Latin, French, and Spanish tongues in perfection. He has travelled much, and is the best-bred and courtly person his Majesty has about him, so as the public Ministers more frequent him than any of the rest of the Nobility. Whilst he was Secretary of State and Prime Minister, he had gotten vastly, but spent it as hastily, even before he had established a fund to maintain his greatness; and now beginning to decline in favour (the Duke being no great friend of his), he knows not how to retrench. He was son of a Doctor of Laws,² whom I have seen, and, being sent from Westminster School to Oxford, with intention to be a divine,

¹ [Isabella von Beverweert. She was a sister of Lady Ossory, and daughter of Henry de Nassau.]

² [Sir John Bennet. Another Sir John Bennet, *d.* 1627, was his grandfather.]

and parson of Arlington,¹ a village near Brentford, when Master of Arts, the Rebellion falling out, he followed the King's Army, and receiving an *honourable wound in the face*,² grew into favour, and was advanced from a mean fortune, at his Majesty's restoration, to be an Earl and Knight of the Garter, Lord Chamberlain of the Household, and first favourite for a long time, during which the King married his natural son, the Duke of Grafton, to his only daughter and heiress, as before mentioned,³ worthy for her beauty and virtue of the greatest Prince in Christendom. My Lord is, besides this, a prudent and understanding person in business, and speaks well; unfortunate yet in those he has advanced, most of them proving ungrateful. The many obligations and civilities I have received from this noble gentleman, extracts from me this character, and I am sorry he is in no better circumstances.

Having now passed near three weeks at Euston, to my great satisfaction, with much difficulty he suffered me to look homeward, being very earnest with me to stay longer; and, to engage me, would himself have carried me to Lynn Regis, a town of important traffic, about twenty miles beyond, which I had never seen; as also the Travelling Sands, about ten miles wide of Euston, that have so

¹ Harlington. He wished to be called Lord Cheney, and for some days was so called. But a Buckinghamshire gentleman of that name objecting, he took the title of a little farm that had belonged to his father,—“the proper and true name of the place being Harlington, a little village between London and Uxbridge” (*Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon*, 1827, ii. 359).

² A deep cut across his nose. He was obliged always to wear a black lozenge-shaped patch upon it, and so is represented in his portraits [e.g. that by Lely, in the possession of the Earl of Tankerville. According to Anthony Hamilton “this remarkable plaister so well suited his mysterious looks, that it seemed an addition to his gravity and self-sufficiency” (*Memoirs of Grammont*, chap. vii.).]

³ [See *ante*, p. 5.]

damaged the country, rolling from place to place, and, like the Sands in the Deserts of Lybia, quite overwhelmed some gentlemen's whole estates, as the relation extant in print, and brought to our Society, describes at large.

18th September. My Lord's coach conveyed me to Bury, and thence baiting at Newmarket, stepping in at Audley End¹ to see that house again, I slept at Bishop Stortford; and, the next day, home. I was accompanied in my journey by Major Fairfax, of a younger house of the Lord Fairfax,² a soldier, a traveller, an excellent musician, a good-natured, well-bred gentleman.

18th. I preferred Mr. Phillips³ (nephew of Milton) to the service of my Lord Chamberlain, who wanted a scholar to read to and entertain him sometimes.

12th October. With Sir Robert Clayton to Marden, an estate he had bought lately of my kinsman, Sir John Evelyn, of Godstone, in Surrey, which from a despicable farm-house Sir Robert had erected into a seat with extraordinary expense.⁴ It is in such a solitude among hills, as, being not above sixteen miles from London, seems almost incredible, the ways up to it are so winding and intricate. The gardens are large, and well-walled, and the husbandry part made very convenient and perfectly understood. The barns, the stacks of corn, the stalls for cattle, pigeon-house, etc., of most laudable example. Innumerable are the plantations of trees, especially walnuts. The orangery and gardens are very curious. In the house are large and noble rooms. He and his lady

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 97.]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 90.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 206.]

⁴ [Marden Park, Surrey, six miles south of Croydon, now the residence of Walpole Greenwell, Esq. Wilberforce lived here for a time.]

(who is very curious in distillery) entertained me three or four days very freely. I earnestly suggested to him the repairing of an old desolate dilapidated church, standing on the hill above the house,¹ which I left him in good disposition to do, and endow it better; there not being above four or five houses in the parish, besides that of this prodigious rich scrivener.² This place is exceeding sharp in the winter, by reason of the serpentining of the hills: and it wants running water; but the solitude much pleased me. All the ground is so full of wild thyme, marjoram, and other sweet plants, that it cannot be overstocked with bees; I think he had near forty hives of that industrious insect.

14th October. I went to church at Godstone, and to see old Sir John Evelyn's³ dormitory, joining to the church, paved with marble, where he and his lady lie on a very stately monument at length; he in armour of white marble. The inscription is only an account of his particular branch of the family, on black marble.

15th. Returned to London; in the evening, I saw the Prince of Orange, and supped with Lord Ossory.

23rd. Saw again the Prince of Orange; his

¹ Woldingham. The Church—according to Bray—consisted of one room about thirty feet long and twenty-one wide, without any tower, spire, or bell. It was considered as a Donative, not subject to the Bishop; and service was performed therein once a month. No churchwarden; two farm-houses, four cottages; and by the Population Return, even as late as 1811, the number of inhabitants was only fifty-eight [which in 1904 had increased to two hundred and twenty]. That disposition in Sir Robert Clayton which Evelyn fancied he saw, appears to have subsided, for the church remained for a long time as it was in the Diarist's day. [In 1890 it was restored by the present owner of Marden Park.]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 117; and *post*, under 18th November, 1679.]

³ [Sir John Evelyn of Leigh Place, d. 1643. His "lady" was Thomasine Heynes of Chessington.]

marriage with the Lady Mary, eldest daughter to the Duke of York, by Mrs. Hyde, the late Duchess, was now declared.¹

11th November. I was all this week composing matters between old Mrs. Howard and Sir Gabriel Sylvius, upon his long and earnest addresses to Mrs. Anne, her second daughter,² Maid of Honour to the Queen. My friend, Mrs. Godolphin (who exceedingly loved the young lady), was most industrious in it, out of pity to the languishing knight; so as though there were great differences in their years, it was at last effected, and they were married the 18th, in Henry VII.'s Chapel, by the Bishop of Rochester,³ there being besides my wife and Mrs. Graham, her sister,⁴ Mrs. Godolphin, and very few more. We dined at the old lady's, and supped at Mr. Graham's at St. James's.

15th. The Queen's birthday, a great Ball at Court, where the Prince of Orange and his new Princess danced.

19th. They went away, and I saw embarked my Lady Sylvius, who went into Holland with her husband, made Hoffmaester to the Prince, a considerable employment. We parted with great sorrow, for the great respect and honour I bore her, a most pious and virtuous lady.

27th. Dined at the Lord Treasurer's with Prince Rupert, Viscount Fauconberg,⁵ Earl of Bath, Lord O'Brien, Sir John Lowther,⁶ Sir

¹ [It took place 4th November, 1677.]

² See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 383. Evelyn dedicated his Life of Mrs. Godolphin to Lady Sylvius.

³ Dr. John Dolben, 1625-86, also Dean of Westminster, translated afterwards to York.

⁴ [Dorothy Howard (see vol. ii. p. 383).]

⁵ [Thomas Belasyse, 1627-1700, Viscount Fauconberg.]

⁶ [Sir John Lowther, 1655-1700, afterwards first Viscount Lonsdale.]

Christopher Wren, Dr. Grew,¹ and other learned men.

30th November. Sir Joseph Williamson, Principal Secretary of State, was chosen President of the Royal Society, after my Lord Viscount Brouncker had possessed the chair now sixteen years successively, and therefore now thought fit to *change*, that prescription might not prejudice.

4th December. Being the first day of his taking the chair, he gave us a magnificent supper.

20th. Carried to my Lord Treasurer an account of the Earl of Bristol's Library, at Wimbledon, which my Lord thought of purchasing, till I acquainted him that it was a very broken collection, consisting much in books of judicial astrology, romances, and trifles.

25th. I gave my son an Office,² with instructions how to govern his youth ; I pray God give him the grace to make a right use of it !

1677-8 : *23rd January.* Dined with the Duke of Norfolk, being the first time I had seen him since the death of his elder brother, who died at Padua in Italy,³ where he had resided above thirty years. The Duke had now newly declared his marriage to his concubine, whom he promised me he never would marry.⁴ I went with him to see the Duke of Buckingham, thence to my Lord Sunderland, now Secretary of State, to show him that rare piece of Vorstermans'⁵ (son of old Vorster-

¹ [Dr. Nehemiah Grew, 1641-1712, author of the *Anatomy of Plants*, 1682, and one of the first who advocated the theory of different sexes in botany. He was Secretary to the Royal Society, 1677-79.]

² [A service-book or book of prayers.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 310.]

⁴ [Lord Henry Howard, now Duke of Norfolk, had married his second wife, Mrs. Jane Bickerton, daughter of Robert Bickerton, a Scotchman, who was Gentleman of the Wine-Cellar to King Charles II. (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 333 ; and *post*, under 23rd August, 1678).]

⁵ [Johannes Vorstermans, 1643-99.]

man), which was a view, or landscape of my Lord's palace, etc., at Althorp, in Northamptonshire.

8th February. Supping at my Lord Chamberlain's I had a long discourse with the Count de Castel Mellor, lately Prime Minister in Portugal, who, taking part with his master, King Alphonso, was banished by his brother, Don Pedro, now Regent; but had behaved himself so uncorruptly in all his ministry that, though he was acquitted, and his estate restored, yet would they not suffer him to return. He is a very intelligent and worthy gentleman.¹

18th. My Lord Treasurer sent for me to accompany him to Wimbledon, which he had lately purchased of the Earl of Bristol;² so breaking fast with him privately in his chamber, I accompanied him with two of his daughters, my Lord Conway, and Sir Bernard Gascoyne;³ and, having surveyed his gardens and alterations, returned late at night.

22nd. Dr. Pierce⁴ preached at Whitehall, on 2 Thessalonians iii. 6, against our late schismatics, in a rational discourse, but a little over-sharp, and not at all proper for the auditory there.

22nd March. Dr. South⁵ preached *coram Rege*, an incomparable discourse on this text, "A wounded spirit who can bear!" Note: Now was our Communion-table placed altarwise; the church steeple, clock, and other reparations finished.

16th April. I showed Don Emmanuel de Lyra (Portugal Ambassador) and the Count de Castel Mellor,⁶ the Repository of the Royal Society, and the College of Physicians.

18th. I went to see new Bedlam Hospital,

¹ [See *post*, under 10th July, 1685.]

² Lord Treasurer Danby had purchased Wimbledon House from the widow of Lord Bristol, who died in 1676 (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 184).]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 310.]

⁴ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 116.]

⁵ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 298.]

⁶ [Portuguese Prime Minister.]

magnificently built,¹ and most sweetly placed in Moorfields, since the dreadful fire in London.

28th June. I went to Windsor with my Lord Chamberlain (the castle now repairing with exceeding cost) to see the rare work of Verrio, and incomparable carving of Gibbons.

29th. Returned with my Lord by Hounslow Heath, where we saw the new-raised army encamped, designed against France, in pretence, at least; but which gave umbrage to the Parliament. His Majesty and a world of company were in the field, and the whole army in battalia; a very glorious sight. Now were brought into service a new sort of soldiers, called Grenadiers, who were dexterous in flinging hand grenadoes, every one having a pouch full; they had furred caps with coped crowns like Janizaries, which made them look very fierce, and some had long hoods hanging down behind, as we picture fools. Their clothing being likewise piebald, yellow and red.

8th July. Came to dine with me my Lord Longford, Treasurer of Ireland, nephew to that learned gentleman, my Lord Aungier,² with whom I was long since acquainted: also the Lady Stidolph, and other company.

19th. The Earl of Ossory came to take his leave of me, going into Holland to command the English forces.

20th. I went to the Tower to try a metal at the Assay-master's, which only proved sulphur; then

¹ This Bedlam, of which Robert Hooke was architect, and of which there is a view in Strype, was taken down in 1814, and a new one erected, from the designs of James Lewis, on the Surrey side of the Thames, in the road leading from St. George's Fields to Lambeth. On pulling the first building down, the foundations were found to be very bad, it having been built on part of the Town-ditch, and on a soil very unfit for the erection of so large a structure.

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 98.]

saw Monsieur Rotier, that excellent graver belonging to the Mint, who emulates even the ancients, in both metal and stone;¹ he was now moulding a horse for the King's statue, to be cast in silver, of a yard high. I dined with Mr. Slingsby, Master of the Mint.

28rd July. Went to see Mr. Elias Ashmole's library and curiosities, at Lambeth.² He has divers MSS., but most of them astrological, to which study he is addicted, though I believe not learned, but very industrious, as his History of the order of the Garter proves.³ He showed me a toad included in amber. The prospect from a turret is very fine, it being so near London, and yet not discovering any house about the country. The famous John Tradescant⁴ bequeathed his Repository to this gentleman, who has given them to the University of Oxford, and erected a lecture on them, over the laboratory, in imitation of the Royal Society.⁵

Mr. Godolphin was made Master of the Robes to the King.

25th. There was sent me £70; from whom I knew not, to be by me distributed among poor people; I afterwards found it was from that dear friend (Mrs. Godolphin), who had frequently given me large sums to bestow on charities.

¹ John Roettier, or Rotier, 1631-1703, the medallist, who introduced the figure of Britannia into the coinage, taking for his model the King's favourite, Frances Teresa Stewart, Duchess of Richmond and Lennox. Her portrait by Lely is in William III.'s State Bedroom at Hampton Court.

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 124.]

³ [*Institutions, etc., of the most noble Order of the Garter*, London, folio, 1672.]

⁴ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 124.]

⁵ The donation took effect in 1677, and a suitable building was erected by Sir Christopher Wren, in 1682, bearing the name of the "Ashmolean Museum." In it are preserved good portraits of Ashmole, and of the Tradescant family, by William Dobson.

16th August. I went to Lady Mordaunt,¹ who put £100 into my hand to dispose of for pious uses, relief of prisoners, poor, etc. Many a sum had she sent me on similar occasions; a blessed creature she was, and one that loved and feared God exemplarily.

23rd. Upon Sir Robert Reading's² importunity, I went to visit the Duke of Norfolk, at his new Palace at Weybridge,³ where he has laid out in building near £10,000, on a copyhold, and in a miserable, barren, sandy place by the street-side; never in my life had I seen such expense to so small purpose. The rooms are wainscoted, and some of them richly parqueted with cedar, yew, cypress, etc. There are some good pictures, especially that incomparable painting of Holbein's, where the Duke of Norfolk, Charles Brandon, and Henry VIII., are dancing with the three ladies, with most amorous countenances, and sprightly motion exquisitely expressed. It is a thousand pities (as I told my Lord of Arundel his son), that that jewel should be given away.

24th. I went to see my Lord of St. Albans' house, at Byfleet, an old large building. Thence, to the paper-mills, where I found them making a coarse white paper. They cull the rags which are linen for white paper, woollen for brown; then they stamp them in troughs to a pap, with

¹ [See *ante*, p. 1.]

² See *post*, under 10th January, 1684.

³ This house, Ham House, as it was at one time called, was the property of Mrs. Jane Bickerton, whom the Duke married (see *ante*, p. 12). After his death, she married Mr. Maxwell, and they, together with Lord George Howard (her eldest son by the Duke), sold it to Catherine Sedley, afterwards Countess of Dorchester, mistress to James II. The Countess, who bore a daughter to James II., subsequently married David Colyear, Earl of Portmore. [The site, near the church, is now covered with villas.] (See *post*, under 19th January, 1686.)

pestles, or hammers, like the powder-mills, then put it into a vessel of water, in which they dip a frame closely wired with wire as small as a hair and as close as a weaver's reed; on this they take up the pap, the superfluous water draining through the wire; this they dexterously turning, shake out like a pancake on a smooth board between two pieces of flannel, then press it between a great press, the flannel sucking out the moisture; then, taking it out, they ply and dry it on strings, as they dry linen in the laundry; then dip it in alum-water, lastly, polish and make it up in quires. They put some gum in the water in which they macerate the rags. The mark we find on the sheets is formed in the wire.¹

25th August. After evening prayer, visited Mr. Sheldon (nephew to the late Archbishop of Canterbury), and his pretty melancholy garden; I took notice of the largest *arbor thuyris* I had ever seen. The place is finely watered, and there are many curiosities of India, shown in the house.

There was at Weybridge the Duchess of Norfolk, Lord Thomas Howard² (a worthy and virtuous gentleman, with whom my son was sometime bred in Arundel House), who was newly come from Rome, where he had been some time; also one of the Duke's daughters, by his first lady. My Lord leading me about the house made no scruple of showing me all the hiding-places for the Popish priests,³ and where they said mass, for he was no bigoted Papist. He told me he never

¹ ["There are no paper mills at Byfleet now; the nearest are at Woking" (Thorne, *Environs of London*, 1876, p. 70).]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 190.]

³ [Others called them merely cupboards, and local tradition, the places where James II., visiting his mistress, lodged his guards. But Pepys, under 23rd May, 1660, speaks of a "priest's hole" in a Catholic house, where, for a good while, Charles II. was obliged "to lie for his privacy."]

trusted them with any secret, and used Protestants only in all businesses of importance.

I went this evening with my Lord Duke to Windsor, where was a magnificent Court, it being the first time of his Majesty removing thither since it was repaired.

27th August. I took leave of the Duke, and dined at Mr. Henry Brouncker's,¹ at the Abbey of Sheen, formerly a Monastery of Carthusians, there yet remaining one of their solitary cells with a cross. Within this ample enclosure are several pretty villas and fine gardens of the most excellent fruits, especially Sir William Temple's² (lately Ambassador into Holland), and the Lord Lisle's, son to the Earl of Leicester,³ who has divers rare pictures, above all, that of Sir Brian Tuke, by Holbein.⁴

After dinner, I walked to Ham, to see the house and garden of the Duke of Lauderdale, which is indeed inferior to few of the best villas in Italy itself; the house furnished like a great Prince's; the parterres, flower-gardens, orangeries, groves, avenues, courts, statues, perspectives, fountains, aviaries, and all this at the banks of the sweetest river in the world, must needs be admirable.⁵

¹ [Afterwards Lord Brouncker. He had obtained, with Sir William Temple, a lease of the Priory at West Sheen. Brouncker occupied the mansion; Temple, a house which he had long rented.]

² [Sir William Temple, 1628-99. He had recently (1674) returned from the Hague, where he had negotiated the marriage of William and Mary. He had first settled at Sheen in 1663.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 107.]

⁴ [Sir Bryan Tuke, *d.* 1545, Treasurer of the Household to Henry VIII. The Duke of Westminster has a portrait of him by Holbein signed "*Brianus Tuke, Miles, Anno Ætatis suæ, LVII.*" There is another in the Munich Pinakothek.]

⁵ [Ham House, Petersham, had passed in 1672 to John Maitland, second Earl and first Duke of Lauderdale (see *ante*,

Hence, I went to my worthy friend, Sir Henry Capel¹ [at Kew], brother to the Earl of Essex; it is an old timber-house; but his garden has the choicest fruit of any plantation in England, as he is the most industrious and understanding in it.

29th August. I was called to London to wait upon the Duke of Norfolk, who having at my sole request bestowed the Arundelian Library on the Royal Society,² sent to me to take charge of the books, and remove them, only stipulating that I would suffer the Herald's chief officer, Sir William Dugdale,³ to have such of them as concerned Heraldry and the Marshal's office, books of Armory and Genealogies, the Duke being Earl Marshal of England. I procured for our Society, besides printed books, near one hundred MSS., some in Greek of great concernment. The printed books being of the oldest impressions, are not the less valuable; I esteem them almost equal to MSS. Amongst them, are most of the Fathers, printed at Basle, before the Jesuits abused them with their expurgatory Indexes; there is a noble MS. of Vitruvius. Many of these books had been presented by Popes, Cardinals, and great persons, to the Earls of Arundel and Dukes of Norfolk; and the late magnificent Earl of Arundel bought a noble library in Germany,⁴ which is in this collection. I should not, for the honour I bear

vol. ii. p. 202), by his marriage with Elizabeth, Countess of Dysart, who had inherited it from her father. There is an excellent history of Ham House by Mrs. Charles Roundell, 1904.]

¹ [Afterwards Lord Capel of Tewkesbury, *d.* 1696. Kew House, now no longer existent, fronted the present Kew Palace; and was afterwards occupied by George III., in whose day it was known indifferently as the Queen's Lodge, Kew Palace, the White House, and Kew Lodge. It was pulled down in 1802 and subsequently (see *post*, under 30th October, 1683, and 24th March, 1688).]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 267.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 110.]

⁴ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 267 *n.*]

the family, have persuaded the Duke to part with these, had I not seen how negligent he was of them, suffering the priests and everybody to carry away and dispose of what they pleased; so that abundance of rare things are irrecoverably gone.

Having taken order here, I went to the Royal Society to give them an account of what I had procured, that they might call a Council and appoint a day to wait on the Duke to thank him for this munificent gift.

3rd September. I went to London, to dine with Mrs. Godolphin, and found her in labour; she was brought to bed of a son, who was baptized in the chamber, by the name of Francis, the susceptors being Sir William Godolphin (head of the family),¹ Mr. John Hervey, Treasurer to the Queen,² and Mrs. Boscawen, sister to Sir William and the father.

8th. Whilst I was at church came a letter from Mr. Godolphin, that my dear friend his lady was exceedingly ill, and desiring my prayers and assistance. My wife and I took boat immediately, and went to Whitehall,³ where, to my inexpressible sorrow, I found she had been attacked with a new fever, then reigning this excessive hot autumn, and which was so violent, that it was not thought she could last many hours.

9th. She died in the 26th year of her age, to the inexpressible affliction of her dear husband, and all her relations, but of none in the world more than of myself, who lost the most excellent and inestimable friend that ever lived. Never was a more virtuous and inviolable friendship; never a more religious, discreet, and admirable creature, beloved of all, admired of all, for all possible perfections of her sex. She is gone to receive the reward of her signal

¹ [Sir William Godolphin, 1634-96; Ambassador to Madrid, 1671-78 (see *post*, p. 22).]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 108.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 395.]

charity, and all other her Christian graces, too blessed a creature to converse with mortals, fitted as she was, by a most holy life, to be received into the mansions above. She was for wit, beauty, good-nature, fidelity, discretion, and all accomplishments, the most incomparable person. How shall I ever repay the obligations to her for the infinite good offices she did my soul by so often engaging me to make religion the terms and tie of the friendship there was between us! She was the best wife, the best mistress, the best friend, that ever husband had. But it is not here that I pretend to give her character, *having designed to consecrate her worthy life to posterity.*¹

Her husband, struck with unspeakable affliction, fell down as dead. The King himself, and all the Court, expressed their sorrow. To the poor and miserable, her loss was irreparable; for there was no degree but had some obligation to her memory. So careful and provident was she to be prepared for all possible accidents, that (as if she foresaw her end) she received the heavenly viaticum but the Sunday before, after a most solemn recollection. She put all her domestic concerns into the exactest order, and left a letter directed to her husband, to be opened in case she died in child-bed, in which with the most pathetic and endearing expressions of a most loyal and virtuous wife, she begs his kindness to her memory might be continued by his care and esteem of those she left behind, even to her domestic servants, to the meanest of which she left considerable legacies, as well as to the poor. It was now seven years since she was Maid of Honour to the Queen, that she regarded me as a father, a brother, and what is more, a friend. We often prayed, visited the sick and miserable, received, read, discoursed, and communicated in all

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 297 n.]

holy offices together. She was most dear to my wife, and affectionate to my children. But she is gone! This only is my comfort, that she is happy in Christ, and I shall shortly behold her again. She desired to be buried in the dormitory of his family, near three hundred miles from all her other friends. So afflicted was her husband at this severe loss, that the entire care of her funeral was committed to me. Having closed the eyes, and dropped a tear upon the cheek of my dear departed friend, lovely even in death, I caused her corpse to be embalmed and wrapped in lead, a plate of brass soldered thereon, with an inscription, and other circumstances due to her worth, with as much diligence and care as my grieved heart would permit me; I then retired home for two days, which were spent in solitude and sad reflection.

17th September. She was, accordingly, carried to Godolphin, in Cornwall, in a hearse with six horses, attended by two coaches of as many, with about thirty of her relations and servants. There accompanied the hearse her husband's brother, Sir William, two more of his brothers, and three sisters: her husband was so overcome with grief, that he was wholly unfit to travel so long a journey, till he was more composed. I went as far as Hounslow with a sad heart; but was obliged to return upon some indispensable affairs. The corpse was ordered to be taken out of the hearse every night, and decently placed in the house, with tapers about it, and her servants attending, to Cornwall; and then was honourably interred in the parish church of Godolphin. This funeral cost not much less than £1000.

With Mr. Godolphin,¹ I looked over and sorted

¹ Mr. Godolphin (afterwards Lord Godolphin) continued the steady friend of Mr. Evelyn, whose grandson, John Evelyn, married a daughter of Godolphin's sister, Mrs. Boscawen (see

his lady's papers, most of which consisted of Prayers, Meditations, Sermon-notes, Discourses, and Collections on several religious subjects, and many of her own happy composing, and so pertinently digested, as if she had been all her life a student in divinity. We found a diary of her solemn resolutions, tending to practical virtue, with letters from select friends, all put into exact method. It astonished us to see what she had read and written, her youth considered.

1st October. The Parliament and the whole Nation were alarmed about a conspiracy of some eminent Papists for the destruction of the King and introduction of Popery, discovered by one Oates¹ and Dr. Tonge, *which last I knew, being the translator of the "Jesuits' Morals"*; ² I went to see

ante, p. 20). Francis Godolphin, the infant now mentioned as born, carried on through a long life the friendly family intercourse thus earnestly begun.

¹ [Titus Oates, 1649-1705. This infamous informer, after being expelled as a boy from Merchant Taylors', became a clergyman. Losing his living for perjury, he next entered the navy as a chaplain, and was dismissed. Then—after holding some subordinate post in the service of the Duke of Norfolk—he "turned Roman" (1677), residing for a time at the English Jesuit Colleges at Valladolid and Saint Omer, from both of which institutions he speedily received notice to quit. In 1678 he came back to England with the alleged discovery of a complicated Popish plot for the murder of the King, the massacre of the Protestants, the invasion of Ireland, and so forth. Unhappily accidental circumstances lent a certain colour to some of these fabrications (see *post*, p. 33).]

² Israel Tonge was bred in University College, Oxford, and being puritanically inclined, quitted the University; but in 1648 returned, and was made a Fellow. He had the living of Pluckley, in Kent, which he resigned in consequence of quarrels with his parishioners and Quakers. In 1657, he was made fellow of the newly-erected College at Durham, and that being dissolved in 1659, he taught school at Islington. He then went with Colonel Edward Harley to Dunkirk, and subsequently took a small living in Herefordshire (Leintwardine): but quitted it for St. Mary Stayning, in London, which, after the fire in 1666, was united to St. Michael, Wood Street. These he held till his death, in 1680. He was a great opponent of the Roman Catholics. Wood

and converse with him at Whitehall, with Mr. Oates, one that was lately an apostate to the church of Rome, and now returned again with this discovery. He seemed to be a bold man, and, in my thoughts, furiously indiscreet; but everybody believed what he said; and it quite changed the genius and motions of the Parliament, growing now corrupt and interested with long sitting and court practices; but, with all this, Popery would not go down. This discovery turned them all as one man against it, and nothing was done but to find out the depth of this. Oates was encouraged, and everything he affirmed taken for gospel;—the truth is, the Roman Catholics were exceeding bold and busy everywhere, since the Duke forbore to go any longer to the chapel.

16th October. Mr. Godolphin requested me to continue the trust his wife had reposed in me, in behalf of his little son, conjuring me to transfer the friendship I had for his dear wife, on him and his.

21st. The murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, found strangled about this time, as was manifest,

mentions several publications of his, among which are, *The Jesuits unmasked*, 1678; *Jesuitical Aphorismes*, 1679; and *The Jesuits' Morals*, 1680 (1670); the two latter translated from the French (Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 502). Evelyn speaks of the last of these translations as having been executed by his desire: and it figures in a notable passage of Oates's testimony. Oates said, for example, "that Thomas Whitbread, a priest, on 13th June, 16... did tell the rector of St. Omer's that a Minister of the Church of England had scandalously put out the *Jesuits' Morals* in English, and had endeavoured to render them odious, and had asked the Rector whether he thought Oates might know him? and the Rector called the deponent, who heard these words as he stood at the chamber-door, and when he went into the chamber of the Provincial, he asked him 'If he knew the author of the *Jesuits' Morals*?' deponent answered, 'His person, but not his name.' Whitbread then demanded, whether he would undertake to poison, or assassinate the author; which deponent undertook, having £50 reward promised him, and appointed to return to England" (*Bray's Note slightly altered*).

by the Papists,¹ he being the Justice of the Peace, and one who knew much of their practices, as conversant with Coleman (a servant of the² now accused), put the whole nation into a new ferment against them.

31st October. Being my [the ?] 58th of my age, required my humble addresses to Almighty God, and that he would take off His heavy hand, still on my family; and restore comforts to us after the loss of my excellent friend.

5th November. Dr. Tillotson³ preached before the Commons at St. Margaret's. He said the Papists were now arrived at that impudence, as to deny that there ever was any such as the gunpowder-conspiracy; but he affirmed that he himself had several letters written by Sir Everard Digby (one of the traitors),⁴ in which he gloried that he was to suffer for it; and that it was so contrived, that of the Papists not above two or three should have been blown up, and they, such as were not worth saving.

15th. The Queen's birthday. I never saw the

¹ [Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, 1621-78, was a wood and coal dealer, and a well-known Justice of the Peace for the County of Middlesex and the City of Westminster. He had received the first depositions of Oates and Tonge in September, and communicated them to the Catholic Duke of York. On the 17th October, he was found dead in a dry ditch on the south side of Primrose Hill, his body, it was affirmed, bearing marks of strangulation, and his own sword being thrust through his heart. But where he met his end, and how, is still to seek, though three innocent men, Hill, Berry, and Green, were hanged in February, 1679, for murdering him. The subject is minutely discussed in Mr. John Pollock's *Popish Plot*, 1903, pp. 83-166; and in Mr. Andrew Lang's *Valet's Tragedy and other Studies*, 1903, pp. 55-103. A later writer, Mr. Alfred Marks (*Who Killed Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey?* 1905), fortified by an expert medical opinion, inclines (like Mr. Lang) to the theory of suicide.]

² [The Duke of York, whose secretary he was.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 291.]

⁴ [Sir Everard Digby—Sir Kenelm Digby's father—executed in 1606 in connection with the Gunpowder Plot.]

Court more brave, nor the nation in more apprehension and consternation. Coleman and one Staley¹ had now been tried, condemned, and executed. On this, Oates grew so presumptuous, as to accuse the Queen of intending to poison the King; which certainly that pious and virtuous lady abhorred the thoughts of, and Oates's circumstances made it utterly unlikely in my opinion. He probably thought to gratify some who would have been glad his Majesty should have married a fruitful lady; but the King was too kind a husband to let any of these make impression on him.² However, divers of the Popish peers were sent to the Tower, accused by Oates;³ and all the Roman Catholic lords were by a new Act⁴ for ever excluded the Parliament; which was a mighty blow. The King's, Queen's, and Duke's servants, were banished, and a test to be taken by everybody who pretended to enjoy any office of public trust, and who would not be suspected of Popery. I went with Sir William Godolphin, a member of the Commons' House, to the Bishop of Ely (Dr. Peter Gunning),⁵ to be resolved whether masses were idolatry, as the test expressed it, which was so worded, that several good Protestants scrupled, and Sir William, though a learned man and excellent divine himself, had some doubts about it. The Bishop's opinion was, that he might take it, though he wished it had been otherwise worded in the test.

1678-9: 15th January. I went with my Lady

¹ [Edward Coleman was executed 3rd December, William Staley, 26th November. The former, upon his own letters, was found "guilty of treason in trying 'to subvert the Protestant religion as it is by law established,' 'by the aid and assistance of Foreign Powers'" (Trevelyan's *England under the Stuarts*, 1904, p. 397).]

² [See *post*, p. 32 n.]

³ [Lords Stafford, Petre, Arundel, Belasyse, and the Earl of Powis.]

⁴ [30 Car. II. Stat. 2, c. 1.]

⁵ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 125.]

Sunderland to Chelsea, and dined with the Countess of Bristol [her mother] in the great house, formerly the Duke of Buckingham's, a spacious and excellent place for the extent of ground and situation in a good air.¹ The house is large, but ill-contrived, though my Lord of Bristol who purchased it after he sold Wimbledon to my Lord Treasurer, expended much money on it. There were divers pictures of Titian and Vandyck, and some of Bassano, very excellent, especially an Adonis and Venus, a Duke of Venice, a butcher in his shambles selling meat to a Swiss; and of Vandyck, my Lord of Bristol's picture, with the Earl of Bedford's at length, in the same table. There was in the garden a rare collection of orange trees, of which she was pleased to bestow some upon me.

16th January. I supped this night with Mr. Secretary at one Mr. Houblon's, a French merchant, who had his house furnished *en Prince*, and gave us a splendid entertainment.²

25th. The Long Parliament, which had sat ever

¹ This mansion stood at the north end of Beaufort Row, Chelsea, extending westward about 100 yards from the water-side. It was originally called Buckingham House, after the Duke of Buckingham. In January 1682 Lord Bristol's widow sold it to Henry Somerset, Marquis of Worcester, created Duke of Beaufort in the same year; after whom it was known by the title of Beaufort House (see *post*, 3rd September, 1683). It continued in the possession of this family till about 1738, when, having stood empty for several years, it was purchased by Sir Hans Sloane, and was pulled down in 1740.

² One of the most eminent of the merchants of London at this period. Two of James Houblon's sons obtained the honour of knighthood. Sir James became one of the members for the city, in 1648; Sir John was Lord Mayor, one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, and Governor of the Bank of England. From the former descend the Houblons of Hallingbury-place, Essex, and of Culverthorpe, Lincoln. Pepys mentions "five brothers Houblon," and he adds, "mighty fine gentlemen they are all, and used me mighty respectfully" (5th February, 1666).

since the Restoration, was dissolved by persuasion of the Lord Treasurer, though divers of them were believed to be his pensioner. At this, all the politicians were at a stand, they being very eager in pursuit of the late plot of the Papists.

30th January. Dr. Cudworth¹ preached before the King at Whitehall, on 2 Timothy iii. 5, reckoning up the perils of the last times, in which, amongst other wickedness, treasons should be one of the greatest, applying it to the occasion, as committed under a form of reformation and godliness; concluding that the prophecy did intend more particularly the present age, as one of the last times; the sins there enumerated, more abundantly reigning than ever.

2nd February. Dr. Durel,² Dean of Windsor, preached to the household at Whitehall, on 1 Cor. xvi. 22; he read the whole sermon out of his notes, which I had never before seen a Frenchman do, he being of Jersey, and bred at Paris.

4th. Dr. Pierce, Dean of Salisbury,³ preached on 1 John iv. 1, "Try the Spirits, there being so many delusory ones gone forth of late into the world"; he inveighed against the pernicious doctrines of Mr. Hobbes.

My brother, Evelyn,⁴ was now chosen Knight for the County of Surrey, carrying it against my Lord Longford⁵ and Sir Adam Browne, of Betchworth Castle.⁶ The country coming in to give him their suffrages were so many, that I believe they eat and drank him out near £2000, by a most abominable custom.

¹ [Dr. Ralph Cudworth, 1617-88.]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 25.] ³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 116.]

⁴ [I.e. George Evelyn of Wotton.]

⁵ [See *ante*, p. 14.]

⁶ [See *post*, under February, 1703. It was his daughter, Mrs. Fenwick, who sold Betchworth Castle to Abraham Tucker (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 98).]

1st April. My friend, Mr. Godolphin, was now made one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and of the Privy Council.

4th. The Bishop of Gloucester¹ preached in a manner very like Bishop Andrews, full of divisions, and scholastical, and that with much quickness. The holy Communion followed.

20th. Easter-day. Our vicar preached exceeding well on 1 Cor. v. 7. The holy Communion followed, at which I and my daughter Mary (now about fourteen years old) received for the first time [*sic*]. The Lord Jesus continue his grace unto her, and improve this blessed beginning!

24th. The Duke of York, voted against by the Commons for his recusancy, went over to Flanders;² which made much discourse.

4th June. I dined with Mr. Pepys in the Tower, he having been committed by the House of Commons for misdemeanours in the Admiralty when he was Secretary; I believe he was unjustly charged.³ Here I saluted my Lords Stafford and Petre, who were committed for the Popish plot.⁴

7th. I saw the magnificent cavalcade and entry of the Portugal ambassador.⁵

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 388.]

² [He went abroad immediately before the opening of Parliament on 6th March, and returned after its dissolution in July (see *post*, under 13th September, 1679).]

³ [Pepys had resigned his first secretaryship to the Admiralty on the 17th May. His favour with the Duke of York, and a previous, and groundless, charge of Popish proclivities, had rendered him suspect. He was preposterously accused, on the evidence of a Colonel Scott, of communicating Navy secrets to France for the purpose of overthrowing the English Government, and establishing Catholicism. As a result he was sent to the Tower, 22nd May, 1679. After several examinations he was released on bail; and ultimately acquitted, because Scott had refused at the last moment to stand by his lying stories (Pepys' *Diary*, by G. Gregory Smith, 1905, xx.). See *post*, p. 31.]

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 26 n.]

⁵ [Don Emanuel de Lyra (see *ante*, p. 13).]

17th June. I was godfather to a son of Sir Christopher Wren, surveyor of his Majesty's buildings, that most excellent and learned person, with Sir William Fermor,¹ and my Lady Viscountess Newport, wife of the Treasurer of the Household.²

Thence to Chelsea, to Sir Stephen Fox,³ and my lady, in order to the purchase of the Countess of Bristol's house there, which she desired me to procure a chapman for.

19th. I dined at Sir Robert Clayton's⁴ with Sir Robert Viner,⁵ the great banker.

22nd. There were now divers Jesuits executed about the plot,⁶ and a rebellion in Scotland of the fanatics, so that there was a sad prospect of public affairs.

25th. The new Commissioners of the Admiralty came to visit me, viz. Sir Henry Capel,⁷ brother to the Earl of Essex, Mr. Finch, eldest son to the Lord Chancellor,⁸ Sir Humphry Winch, Sir Thomas

¹ [Sir William Fermor, d. 1711, afterwards Baron Leominster, 1692.]

² [I.e. Mountjoy Blount, 1597-1666, Earl of Newport.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 249.]

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 2.]

⁵ Sir Robert Viner, 1631-88, a very genial and wealthy banker, whom Pepys (7th September, 1665) describes as living in great state at Swakeley House, Ickenham, Middlesex, which he had bought from Sir James Harrington. [It belonged in 1876 to T. Truesdale Clarke, Esq.] When Lord Mayor, in 1674, Viner entertained Charles II. at Guildhall; and on his Majesty retiring, urged him to "return and take t'other bottle" (Steele, in *Spectator*, No. 462). He was created a Baronet in 1666. The crown was indebted to Sir Robert Viner, at the shutting of the Exchequer (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 340), nearly half a million of money, for which he was awarded £25,000 : 9 : 4 per annum, out of the excise.

⁶ ["Whitbread and Fenwick and three other Jesuits are condemned, June 13, and Langhorne, a lawyer, June 14. They suffer June 20, and eight priests are executed in different parts of the country" (*Annals of England*, 1876, p. 477).]

⁷ [See *ante*, p. 19.]

⁸ [Heneage Finch, 1647-1719, afterwards Earl of Aylesford.]

Meeres,¹ Mr. Hales, with some of the Commissioners of the Navy. I went with them to London.

1st July. I dined at Sir William Godolphin's, and with that learned gentleman went to take the air in Hyde Park, where was a glorious *cortège*.

3rd. Sending a piece of venison to Mr. Pepys, still a prisoner, I went and dined with him.²

6th. Now were there papers, speeches, and libels, publicly cried in the streets against the Dukes of York and Lauderdale, etc., obnoxious to the Parliament, with too much and indeed too shameful a liberty; but the people and Parliament had gotten head by reason of the vices of the great ones.

There was now brought up to London a child, son of one Mr. Wotton,³ formerly amanuensis to

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 393.]

² [See *ante*, p. 29.]

³ The Rev. Henry Wotton, minister of Wrentham, in Suffolk. This son was afterwards the celebrated William Wotton, 1666-1726, the friend and defender of Dr. Bentley, and the antagonist of Sir William Temple, in the controversy about Ancient and Modern Learning. Sir Philip Skippon, who lived at Wrentham, in Suffolk, in a letter to Mr. John Ray, Sept. 18, 1671, writes: "I shall somewhat surprise you with what I have seen in a little boy, William Wotton, five years old last month, son of Mr. Wotton, minister of this parish, who hath instructed his child within the last three-quarters of a year in the reading the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, which he can read almost as well as English, and that tongue he could read at four years and three months old, as well as most lads of twice his age."—He was admitted of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, April, 1676, and took the degree of B.A. in 1679, when only twelve years and five months old. Dr. Burnet recommended him to Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, who took him as an assistant in making a catalogue of his books, and gave him in 1691 the sinecure of Llandrill-yn-Rhôs, in Denbighshire. He was subsequently Rector of Middleton Keynes, and Prebendary of Salisbury. Swift laughed at him, but this he drew upon himself by having attacked the *Tale of a Tub*. He published, as is well known, an answer to that satire. He also compiled *Memoirs of the Cathedral Churches of St. David and St. Asaph*, which Browne Willis published. When very young, he remembered almost the whole of any discourse he had heard, and on a certain occasion he repeated to Bishop Lloyd one of his own sermons.

Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Winton, who both read and perfectly understood Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Syriac, and most of the modern languages; disputed in divinity, law, and all the sciences; was skilful in history, both ecclesiastical and profane; in politics; in a word, so universally and solidly learned at eleven years of age, that he was looked on as a miracle. Dr. Lloyd, one of the most deep learned divines of this nation in all sorts of literature, with Dr. Burnet, who had severely examined him, came away astonished, and they told me they did not believe there had the like appeared in the world. He had only been instructed by his father, who being himself a learned person, confessed that his son knew all that he himself knew. But, what was more admirable than his vast memory, was his judgment and invention, he being tried with divers hard questions, which required maturity of thought and experience. He was also dexterous in chronology, antiquities, mathematics. In sum, an *intellectus universalis*, beyond all that we read of Picus Mirandola, and other precocious wits, and yet withal a very humble child.

14th July. I went to see how things stood at Parson's Green, my Lady Viscountess Mordaunt¹ (now sick in Paris, whither she went for health) having made me a trustee for her children, an office I could not refuse to this most excellent, pious, and virtuous lady, my long acquaintance.

15th. I dined with Mr. Sidney Godolphin, now one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury.²

18th. I went early to the old Bailey Sessions-house to the famous trial of Sir George Wakeham,³

¹ [See *ante*, p. 1.]

² [See *ante*, p. 29.]

³ [Sir George Wakeman, *fl.* 1668-85, was a Roman Catholic. He was accused by Titus Oates of conspiring with Catherine of Braganza to poison Charles II. But even Charles refused to believe this monstrous accusation (see *ante*, p. 26).]

one of the Queen's physicians, and three Benedictine monks;¹ the first (whom I was well acquainted with, and take to be a worthy gentleman abhorring such a fact) for intending to poison the King; the others as accomplices to carry on the plot, to subvert the Government, and introduce Popery. The Bench was crowded with the Judges, Lord Mayor, Justices, and innumerable spectators. The chief accusers, Dr. Oates (as he called himself), and one Bedloe,² a man of inferior note. Their testimonies were not so pregnant, and I fear much of it from hearsay, but swearing positively to some particulars, which drew suspicion upon their truth; nor did circumstances so agree, as to give either the Bench, or Jury, so entire satisfaction as was expected. After, therefore, a long and tedious trial of nine hours, the Jury brought them in not guilty, to the extraordinary triumph of the Papists, and without sufficient disadvantage and reflections on witnesses, especially Oates and Bedloe.

This was a happy day for the Lords in the Tower, who expecting their trial, had this gone against the prisoners at the bar, would all have been in the utmost hazard. For my part, I look on Oates as a vain, insolent man, puffed up with the favour of the Commons for having discovered something really true,³ more especially as detecting the dangerous intrigue of Coleman, proved out of his own letters,⁴ and of a general design which the Jesuited party of the Papists ever had and still have, to ruin the Church of England; but that he was trusted with those great secrets he pretended,

¹ William Marshal, William Rumley, and James Corker (see *State Trials*, fol. vol. ii. p. 918).

² [William Bedloe, 1650-80, the accomplice of Oates.]

³ [Some truth there was, but dash'd and brew'd with lies.
 DRYDEN, *Absalom and Achitophel*, Pt. i.]

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 26.]

or had any solid ground for what he accused divers noblemen of, I have many reasons to induce my contrary belief. That among so many commissions as he affirmed to have delivered to them from P. Oliva¹ and the Pope,—he who made no scruple of opening all other papers, letters, and secrets, should not only not open any of those pretended commissions, but not so much as take any copy or witness of any one of them, is almost miraculous. But the Commons (some leading persons I mean of them) had so exalted him, that they took all he said for Gospel, and without more ado ruined all whom he named to be conspirators; nor did he spare whoever came in his way. But indeed the murder of Sir Edmund [Berry] Godfrey,² suspected to have been compassed by the Jesuits' party for his intimacy with Coleman (a busy person whom I also knew), and the fear they had that he was able to have discovered things to their prejudice, did so exasperate not only the Commons but all the nation, that much of these sharpnesses against the more honest Roman Catholics who lived peaceably, is to be imputed to that horrid fact.

The sessions ended, I dined or rather supped (so late it was) with the Judges³ in the large room annexed to the place, and so returned home. Though it was not my custom or delight to be often present at any capital trials, we having them commonly so exactly published by those who take them in short-hand, yet I was inclined to be at this signal one, that by the ocular view of the carriages and other circumstances of the managers and parties concerned, I might inform myself, and

¹ Padrè Oliva, General of the Order of Jesuits.

² [See *ante*, p. 25.]

³ The Judges were, Lord Chief Justice North, Mr. Justice Atkins, Mr. Justice Windham, Mr. Justice Pemberton, and Mr. Justice Dolben.



CLIVEDEN, BUCKS

regulate my opinion of a cause that had so alarmed the whole nation.

22nd July. Dined at Clapham, at Sir D. Gauden's ;¹ went thence with him to Windsor, to assist him in a business with his Majesty. I lay that night at Eton College, the Provost's lodgings (Dr. Cradock),² where I was courteously entertained.

23rd. To Court : after dinner, I visited that excellent painter, Verrio,³ whose works in *fresco* in the King's palace, at Windsor, will celebrate his name as long as those walls last. He showed us his pretty garden, choice flowers, and curiosities, he himself being a skilful gardener.

I went to Cliveden, that stupendous natural rock, wood, and prospect, of the Duke of Buckingham's,⁴ and buildings of extraordinary expense. The grotts in the chalky rocks are pretty : it is a romantic object, and the place altogether answers the most poetical description that can be made of solitude, precipice, prospect, or whatever can contribute to a thing so very like their imaginations. The stand, somewhat like Frascati as to its front, and on the platform is a circular view to the

¹ [Sir Denis Gauden had built this house for his brother, Dr. John Gauden, Bishop of Exeter, who claimed to have written *Eikon Basilike*. Sir Denis afterwards occupied it himself, dying there in 1688. The house (now pulled down) was subsequently occupied by Pepys' friend and clerk, Will. Hewer (see *post*, under 25th July, 1692).]

² [Dr. Zachary Cradock, 1633-95 ; Provost of Eton, 1681-95.]

³ [Antonio Verrio, 1639-1707. His "sprawling Saints" also decorate Hampton Court, and many noblemen's seats.]

⁴ Cliveden's proud alcove,
The bow'r of wanton Shrewsbury and love.
POPE, *Moral Essays*, iii. 307.

[The present building, erected by the Duke of Sutherland, and long a seat of the Duke of Westminster, now belongs to William Waldorf Astor, Esq. It has been enriched by many relics from the famous Villa Borghese (see *ante*, vol. i. pp. 176 and 260).]

utmost verge of the horizon, which, with the serpentine of the Thames, is admirable. The staircase is for its materials singular; the cloisters, descents, gardens, and avenue through the wood, august and stately; but the land all about wretchedly barren, and producing nothing but fern. Indeed, as I told his Majesty that evening (asking me how I liked Cliveden) without flattery, that it did not please me so well as Windsor for the prospect and park, which is without compare; there being but one only opening, and that narrow, which led one to any variety, whereas that of Windsor is everywhere great and unconfined.

Returning, I called at my cousin Evelyn's,¹ who has a very pretty seat in the forest, two miles by hither Cliveden, on a flat, with gardens exquisitely kept, though large, and the house a staunch good old building, and what was singular, some of the rooms floored dove-tail-wise without a nail, exactly close. One of the closets is parqued with plain deal, set in diamond, exceeding staunch and pretty.

7th August. Dined at the Sheriffs', when, the Company of Drapers and their wives being invited, there was a sumptuous entertainment, according to the forms of the City, with music, etc., comparable to any Prince's service in Europe.

8th. I went this morning to show my Lord Chamberlain, his Lady, and the Duchess of Grafton, the incomparable work of Mr. Gibbons, the carver,² whom I first recommended to his Majesty, his house being furnished like a cabinet, not only with his own work, but divers excellent paintings of the best hands. Thence, to Sir Stephen Fox's,³ where we spent the day.

31st. After evening service, to see a neighbour,

¹ [William Evelyn, son of George Evelyn of Nutfield.]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 317.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 30.]

one Mr. Bohun,¹ related to my son's late tutor of that name, a rich Spanish merchant, living in a neat place, which he has adorned with many curiosities, especially several carvings of Mr. Gibbons, and some pictures by Streater.

13th September. To Windsor, to congratulate his Majesty on his recovery ;² I kissed the Duke's hand, now lately returned from Flanders³ to visit his brother the King, on which there were various bold and foolish discourses, the Duke of Monmouth being sent away.

19th. My Lord Sunderland, one of the principal Secretaries of State, invited me to dinner, where was the King's natural son, the Earl of Plymouth, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl of Essex, Earl of Mulgrave, Mr. Hyde, and Mr. Godolphin. After dinner, I went to prayers at Eton, and visited Mr. Henry Godolphin,⁴ fellow there, and Dr. Cradock.⁵

25th. Mr. Slingsby and Signor Verrio came to dine with me, to whom I gave China oranges off my own trees, as good, I think, as were ever eaten.

6th October. A very wet and sickly season.

28rd. Dined at my Lord Chamberlain's, the King being now newly returned from his New-market recreations.

4th November. Dined at the Lord Mayor's ;⁶ and, in the evening, went to the funeral of my

¹ [Of Lee in Kent (see *post*, under 30th July, 1682).]

² [Charles was dangerously ill, 22nd August, 1679, and James was summoned back from Brussels by Halifax, Essex, and Sunderland. He returned and travelled to Windsor in disguise, only to find his brother cheerful and convalescent (Trevelyan's *England under the Stuarts*, 1904, p. 407).]

³ He returned the day before, the 12th of September.

⁴ [Sidney Godolphin's brother, 1648-1733. He was afterwards Provost of Eton, and Dean of St. Paul's.]

⁵ [See *ante*, p. 35.]

⁶ [Sir Robert Clayton's.]

pious, dear, and ancient learned friend, Dr. Jasper Needham,¹ who was buried at St. Bride's church. He was a true and holy Christian, and one who loved me with great affection. Dr. Dove² preached with an eulogy due to his memory. I lost in this person one of my dearest remaining sincere friends.

5th November. I was invited to dine at my Lord Teviotdale's,³ a Scotch Earl, a learned and knowing nobleman. We afterwards went to see Mr. Montague's new palace near Bloomsbury, built by our curator, Mr. Hooke, somewhat after the French; it was most nobly furnished, and a fine, but too much exposed garden.⁴

6th. Dined at the Countess of Sunderland's, and was this evening at the re-marriage of the Duchess of Grafton to the Duke (his Majesty's natural son), she being now twelve years old.⁵ The ceremony was performed in my Lord Chamberlain's (her father's) lodgings at Whitehall by the Bishop of Rochester,⁶ his Majesty being present. A sudden and unexpected thing, when everybody believed the first marriage would have come to nothing; but, the measure being determined, I was privately invited by my Lady, her mother, to be present. I confess I could give her little joy, and so I plainly told her, but she said the King would have it so, and there was no going back. This sweetest, hopefulest, most beautiful child, and most virtuous too, was sacrificed to a boy that had been rudely bred, without anything to encourage them but his Majesty's pleasure. I pray God the sweet child find it to her advantage, who,

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 116.]

² [See *post*, under 25th January, 1685.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 208.]

⁴ See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 391; and *post*, under 10th October, 1683.

⁵ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 350.]

⁶ [Dr. John Dolben.]

if my augury deceive me not, will in few years be such a paragon as were fit to make the wife of the greatest Prince in Europe! I staid supper, where his Majesty sat between the Duchess of Cleveland (the mother of the Duke of Grafton) and the sweet Duchess the bride; there were several great persons and ladies, without pomp. My love to my Lord Arlington's family and the sweet child made me behold all this with regret, though as the Duke of Grafton affects the sea, to which I find his father intends to use him,¹ he may emerge a plain, useful and robust officer; and, were he polished, a tolerable person; for he is exceeding handsome, by far surpassing any of the King's other natural issue.

8th November. At Sir Stephen Fox's, and was agreeing for the Countess of Bristol's house at Chelsea, within £500.²

18th. I dined at my Lord Mayor's,³ being desired by the Countess of Sunderland to carry her thither on a solemn day, that she might see the pomp and ceremony of this Prince of Citizens, there never having been any, who for the stateliness of his palace, prodigious feasting, and magnificence, exceeded him. This Lord Mayor's acquaintance had been from the time of his being apprentice to one Mr. Abbot, his uncle, who being a scrivener, and an honest worthy man, one who was condemned to die at the beginning of the troubles forty years past, as concerned in the commission of array for King Charles I., had escaped with his life; I often used his assistance in money-matters. Robert Clayton, then a boy, his nephew, became, after his uncle Abbot's death, so prodigiously rich and opulent, that he was

¹ [He was afterwards distinguished as a sailor and a soldier.]

² [See *ante*, p. 27.]

³ Sir Robert Clayton (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 117; and pp. 9 and 37).

reckoned one of the wealthiest citizens. He married a free-hearted woman, who became his hospitable disposition; and, having no children, with the accession of his partner and fellow-apprentice,¹ who also left him his estate, he grew excessively rich. He was a discreet magistrate, and though envied, I think without much cause. Some believed him guilty of hard dealing, especially with the Duke of Buckingham, much of whose estate he had swallowed, but I never saw any ill by him, considering the trade he was of. The reputation and known integrity of his uncle, Abbot, brought all the royal party to him, by which he got not only great credit, but vast wealth, so as he passed this office with infinite magnificence and honour.

20th November. I dined with Mr. Slingsby, Master of the Mint,² with my wife, invited to hear music, which was exquisitely performed by four of the most renowned masters: Du Prue, a Frenchman, on the lute; Signor Bartholomeo, an Italian, on the harpsichord; Nicholao on the violin;³ but, above all, for its sweetness and novelty, the *viol d' amore* of five wire strings played on with a bow, being but an ordinary violin, played on lyre-way, by a German. There was also a *flute douce*, now in much request for accompanying the voice. Mr. Slingsby, whose son and daughter played skilfully, had these meetings frequently in his house.

21st. I dined at my Lord Mayor's, to accompany my worthiest and generous friend, the Earl of Ossory; it was on a Friday, a private day, but the feast and entertainment might have become a King. Such an hospitable costume and splendid magistrature does no city in the world show, as I believe.

¹ Mr. Morris.

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 194.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 373.]

23rd November. Dr. Allestree¹ preached before the household on St. Luke xi. 2; Dr. Lloyd² on Matt. xxiii. 20, before the King, showing with how little reason the Papists applied those words of our blessed Saviour to maintain the pretended infallibility they boast of. I never heard a more Christian and excellent discourse; yet were some offended that he seemed to say the Church of Rome was a true church; but it was a captious mistake; for he never affirmed anything that could be more to their reproach, and that such was the present Church of Rome, showing how much it had erred. There was not in this sermon so much as a shadow for censure, no person of all the clergy having testified greater zeal against the errors of the Papists than this pious and most learned person. I dined at the Bishop of Rochester's, and then went to St. Paul's, to hear that great wit, Dr. Sprat,³ now newly succeeding Dr. Outram, in the cure of St. Margaret's. His talent was a great memory, never making use of notes, a readiness of expression in a most pure and plain style of words, full of matter, easily delivered.

26th. I met the Earl of Clarendon with the rest of my fellow-executors of the will of my late Lady Viscountess Mordaunt,⁴ namely, Mr. Laurence Hyde,⁵ one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, and lately Plenipotentiary Ambassador at Nimeguen; Andrew Newport; and Sir Charles Wheeler; to examine and audit and dispose of this year's account of the estate of this excellent Lady, according to the direction of her Will.

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 157.]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 389.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 300.]

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 32.]

⁵ [Laurence Hyde, 1641-1711, afterwards first Earl of Rochester.]

27th November. I went to see Sir John Stonehouse, with whom I was treating a marriage between my son and his daughter-in-law.¹

28th. Came over the Duke of Monmouth from Holland unexpectedly to his Majesty; whilst the Duke of York was on his journey to Scotland, whither the King sent him to reside and govern.² The bells and bonfires of the City at this arrival of the Duke of Monmouth publishing their joy, to the no small regret of some at Court. This Duke, whom for distinction they called the Protestant Duke (though the son of an abandoned woman), the people made their idol.

4th December. I dined, together with Lord Ossory and the Earl of Chesterfield, at the Portugal Ambassador's, now newly come, at Cleveland House,³ a noble palace, too good for that infamous The staircase is sumptuous, and the gallery and garden; but, above all, the costly furniture belonging to the Ambassador, especially the rich Japan cabinets, of which I think there were a dozen. There was a billiard-table, with as many more hazards as ours commonly have; the game being only to prosecute the ball till hazarded, without passing the port, or touching the pin; if one miss hitting the ball every time, the game is lost, or if hazarded. It is more difficult to hazard a ball, though so many, than in our table, by reason the bound is made so exactly even, and the edges not stuffed; the balls are also bigger, and they for the most part use the sharp and small end of the billiard-stick, which is shod with brass, or silver. The entertainment was exceeding civil; but, besides a good olio, the dishes were trifling, hashed and condited after their way, not at all fit for an

¹ [Martha Spencer (see *infra*, p. 43).]

² [As Lord High Commissioner. He went in September.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 266.]

English stomach, which is for solid meat. There was yet good fowls, but roasted to coal, nor were the sweetmeats good.

30th December. I went to meet Sir John Stonehouse, and give him a particular of the settlement on my son, who now made his addresses to the young lady his daughter-in-law, daughter of Lady Stonehouse.

1679-80: 25th January. Dr. Cave, author of *Primitive Christianity*, etc., a pious and learned man,¹ preached at Whitehall to the household, on James iii. 17, concerning the duty of grace and charity.

30th. I supped with Sir Stephen Fox, now made one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury.

19th February. The writings for the settling jointure and other contracts of marriage of my son were finished and sealed. The lady was to bring £5000, in consideration of a settlement of £500 a-year present maintenance, which was likewise to be her jointure, and £500 a-year after mine and my wife's decease. But, with God's blessing, it will be at the least £1000 a-year more in a few years. I pray God make him worthy of it, and a comfort to his excellent mother, who deserves much from him!

21st. Shrove Tuesday. My son was married to Mrs. Martha Spencer, daughter to my Lady Stonehouse by a former gentleman, at St. Andrew's, Holborn, by our Vicar, borrowing the church of Dr. Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Paul's, the present incumbent. We afterwards dined at a house in Holborn; and, after the solemnity and dancing was done, they were bedded at Sir John Stonehouse's lodgings in Bow Street, Covent Garden.

¹ Dr. William Cave, 1637-1713, Vicar of Islington, author also of *Lives of the Apostles and Martyrs*, and *Historia Literaria*.

26th February. To the Royal Society, where I met an Irish Bishop with his Lady,¹ who was daughter to my worthy and pious friend, Dr. Jeremy Taylor, late Bishop of Down and Connor; they came to see the Repository. She seemed to be a knowing woman, beyond the ordinary talent of her sex.

3rd March. I dined at my Lord Mayor's, in order to the meeting of my Lady Beckford, whose daughter (a rich heiress) I had recommended to my brother of Wotton for his only son,² she being the daughter of the lady by Mr. Eversfield, a Sussex gentleman.

16th. To London, to receive £3000 of my daughter-in-law's portion, which was paid in gold.

26th. The Dean of Sarum³ preached on Jerem. xlv. 5, an hour and a half from his common-place book, of kings and great men retiring to private situations. Scarce anything of Scripture in it.

18th April. On the earnest invitation of the Earl of Essex, I went with him to his house at Cassiobury, in Hertfordshire.⁴ It was on Sunday, but going early from his house in the square of St. James,⁵ we arrived by ten o'clock; this he thought too late to go to church, and we had prayers in his

¹ [Francis Marsh, 1627-93, at this date Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, and eventually Archbishop of Dublin. His wife was Jeremy Taylor's second daughter, Mary. Taylor died in 1667.]

² [John Evelyn of Wotton, *d.* 1691, aged thirty-eight (see *post*, under 10th February, 1681).]

³ [Dr. Thomas Pierce (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 116).]

⁴ [Cassiobury (or Cassiobury) Park, near Watford, Herts, still the seat of the Essex family. Hugh May's house, visited by Evelyn, was erected by Arthur Capel, first Earl of Essex, 1631-83, after his return from Ireland in 1677. It was pulled down in 1800; and a new Gothic mansion, from the designs of James Wyatt, erected in its place. There is a sumptuous volume by John Britton on Cassiobury.]

⁵ [On the north side of the Square.]



CASSIUM, HERTS

chapel. The house is new, a plain fabric, built by my friend, Mr. Hugh May. There are divers fair and good rooms, and excellent carving by Gibbons, especially the chimney-piece of the library. There is in the porch, or entrance, a painting by Verrio, of Apollo and the Liberal Arts. One room parqueted with yew, which I liked well. Some of the chimney mantels are of Irish marble, brought by my Lord from Ireland, when he was Lord-Lieutenant,¹ and not much inferior to Italian. The tympanum, or gable, at the front is a *bassorilievo* of Diana hunting, cut in Portland stone, handsomely enough. I do not approve of the middle doors being round: but, when the hall is finished, as designed, it being an oval with a cupola, together with the other wing, it will be a very noble palace. The library is large, and very nobly furnished, and all the books are richly bound and gilded; but there are no MSS., except the Parliament Rolls and Journals, the transcribing and binding of which cost him, as he assured me, £500.

No man has been more industrious than this noble Lord in planting about his seat, adorned with walks, ponds, and other rural elegancies; but the soil is stony, churlish, and uneven, nor is the water near enough to the house, though a very swift and clear stream runs within a flight-shot from it in the valley, which may fitly be called Coldbrook, it being indeed excessive cold, yet producing fair trouts. It is pity the house was not situated to more advantage: but it seems it was built just where the old one was, which I believe he only meant to repair; this leads men into irremediable errors, and saves but a little.

The land about is exceedingly addicted to wood, but the coldness of the place hinders the growth. Black cherry trees prosper even to considerable

¹ [1672-77.]

timber, some being eighty feet long; they make also very handsome avenues. There is a pretty oval at the end of a fair walk, set about with treble rows of Spanish chestnut trees.

The gardens are very rare, and cannot be otherwise, having so skilful an artist to govern them as Mr. Cook,¹ who is, as to the mechanic part, not ignorant in mathematics, and pretends to astrology. There is an excellent collection of the choicest fruit.

As for my Lord, he is a sober, wise, judicious, and pondering person, not illiterate beyond the rate of most noblemen in this age, very well versed in English History and affairs, industrious, frugal, methodical, and every way accomplished. His Lady² (being sister of the late Earl of Northumberland) is a wise, yet somewhat melancholy woman, setting her heart too much on the little lady, her daughter, of whom she is over fond. They have a hopeful son at the Academy.³

My Lord was not long since come from his Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, where he showed his abilities in administration and government, as well as prudence in considerably augmenting his estate without reproach. He had been Ambassador Extraordinary in Denmark, and, in a word, such a person as became the son of that worthy hero his father to be, the late Lord Capel, who lost his life for King Charles I.⁴

¹ [Moses Cook, author, like Evelyn, of a book on *Forest Trees*, 1675. He planted the park, and laid out the gardens.]

² [Elizabeth, daughter of Algernon Percy, tenth Earl of Northumberland, and sister of Josceline, eleventh Earl, who died in 1670. Her daughter, Anne, eventually married Charles, third Earl of Carlisle.]

³ [Algernon Capel, *d.* 1710, afterwards second Earl, and Constable of the Tower under Anne.]

⁴ [Arthur Capel, first Baron Capel of Hadham (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 8).]

We spent our time in the mornings in walking, or riding, and contriving [alterations], and the afternoons in the library, so as I passed my time for three or four days with much satisfaction. He was pleased in conversation to impart to me divers particulars of state, relating to the present times. He being no great friend to the D——¹ was now laid aside, his integrity and abilities being not so suitable in this conjuncture.—21st. I returned to London.

30th April. To a meeting of the executors of late Viscountess Mordaunt's estate, to consider of the sale of Parson's Green, being in treaty with Mr. Loftus, and to settle the half-year's account.²

1st May. Was a meeting of the feoffees of the poor of our parish. This year I would stand one of the collectors of their rents, to give example to others. My son was added to the feoffees.

This afternoon came to visit me Sir Edward Deering, of Surrendon, in Kent, one of the Lords of the Treasury, with his daughter, married to my worthy friend, Sir Robert Southwell, Clerk of the Council, now Extraordinary Envoy to the Duke of Brandenburg, and other Princes in Germany, as before he had been in Portugal, being a sober, wise, and virtuous gentleman.

13th. I was at the funeral of old Mr. Shish, master-shipwright of his Majesty's Yard here, an honest and remarkable man, and his death a public loss, for his excellent success in building ships³ (though altogether illiterate), and for breeding up so many of his children to be able artists.⁴ I held up the pall with three knights, who did him that honour, and he was worthy of it. It was

¹ [Duke of York.]

² [See *ante*, p. 41.]

³ [He built the *Charles* (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 286).]

⁴ [Two of his sons were master-shipwrights, and are buried at Deptford.]

the custom of this good man to rise in the night, and to pray, kneeling in his own coffin, which he had lying by him for many years. He was born that famous year, the Gunpowder-plot, 1605.

14th June. Came to dine with us the Countess of Clarendon,¹ Dr. Lloyd, Dean of Bangor (since Bishop of St. Asaph),² Dr. Burnet, author of the *History of the Reformation*, and my old friend, Mr. Henshaw. After dinner, we all went to see the Observatory, and Mr. Flamsteed,³ who showed us divers rare instruments, especially the great quadrant.

24th July. Went with my wife and daughter to Windsor, to see that stately court, now near finished. There was erected in the court the King on horseback, lately cast in copper, and set on a rich pedestal of white marble, the work of Mr. Gibbons,⁴ at the expense of Toby Rustat,⁵ a page of the back stairs, who by his wonderful frugality had arrived to a great estate in money, and did many works of charity, as well as this of gratitude to his master, which cost him £1000. He is a very simple, ignorant, but honest and loyal creature.

We all dined at the Countess of Sunderland's, afterwards to see Signor Verrio's garden,⁶ thence to Eton College, to salute the Provost,⁷ and heard a Latin speech of one of the alumni (it being at the election) and were invited to supper; but took our leave, and got to London that night in good time.

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 155.]

² [Dr. William Lloyd, 1627-1717, at this date Bishop of St. Asaph (see *post*, p. 232).]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 394.]

⁴ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 317.]

⁵ Tobias Rustat, 1606-94, Yeoman of the Robes to Charles II., 1650-85. He was a great benefactor to Jesus College, Cambridge; in particular by an endowment of scholarships there for the benefit of young students, orphan sons of clergymen.

⁶ [See *ante*, p. 37.]

⁷ [Dr. Cradock (see *ante*, p. 35).]

26th July. My most noble and illustrious friend, the Earl of Ossory,¹ espying me this morning after sermon in the privy gallery, calling to me, told me, he was now going his journey (meaning to Tangier, whither he was designed Governor, and General of the forces, to regain the losses we had lately sustained from the Moors, when Inchiquin was Governor).² I asked if he would not call at my house (as he always did whenever he went out of England on any exploit). He said he must embark at Portsmouth, "wherefore let you and I dine together to-day; I am quite alone, and have something to impart to you; I am not well, shall be private, and desire your company."

Being retired to his lodgings, and set down on a couch, he sent to his secretary for the copy of a letter which he had written to Lord Sunderland (Secretary of State), wishing me to read it; it was to take notice how ill he resented it, that he should tell the King before Lord Ossory's face, that Tangier was not to be kept,³ but would certainly be lost, and yet added that it was fit Lord Ossory should be sent, that they might give some account of it to the world, meaning (as supposed) the next Parliament, when all such miscarriages would probably be examined; this Lord Ossory took very ill of Lord Sunderland, and not kindly of the King, who resolving to send him with an incompetent force, seemed, as his Lordship took it, to be willing to cast him away, not only on a hazardous adventure, but in most men's opinion, an impossibility, seeing there was not to be above 300 or 400 horse, and 4000 foot for the garrison and all, both to defend

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 21.]

² [William O'Brien, second Earl of Inchiquin, 1638-92; Governor of Tangier, 1674-80.]

³ [Tangier had been part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza. It was abandoned in 1683 and the works blown up.]

the town, form a camp, repulse the enemy, and fortify what ground they should get in. This touched my Lord deeply, that he should be so little considered as to put him on a business in which he should probably not only lose his reputation, but be charged with all the miscarriage and ill success; whereas, at first they promised 6000 foot and 600 horse effective.

My Lord, being an exceeding brave and valiant person, and who had so approved himself in divers signal battles, both at sea and land; so beloved and so esteemed by the people, as one they depended on, upon all occasions worthy of such a captain;—he looked on this as too great an indifference in his Majesty, after all his services, and the merits of his father, the Duke of Ormonde, and a design of some who envied his virtue. It certainly took so deep root in his mind, that he who was the most void of fear in the world (and assured me he would go to Tangier with ten men if his Majesty commanded him) could not bear up against this unkindness. Having disburdened himself of this to me after dinner, he went with his Majesty to the Sheriffs' at a great supper in Fishmongers' Hall; but, finding himself ill, took his leave immediately of his Majesty, and came back to his lodging. Not resting well this night, he was persuaded to remove to Arlington House, for better accommodation. His disorder turned to a malignant fever, which increasing, after all that six of the most able physicians could do, he became delirious, with intervals of sense, during which Dr. Lloyd (after Bishop of St. Asaph) administered the Holy Sacrament, of which I also participated. He died the Friday following, the 30th July, to the universal grief of all that knew or heard of his great worth, nor had any a greater loss than myself. Oft would he say I was the

oldest acquaintance he had in England (when his father was in Ireland), it being now of about thirty years, contracted abroad, when he rode in the Academy in Paris, and when we were seldom asunder.¹

His Majesty never lost a worthier subject, nor father a better or more dutiful son; a loving, generous, good-natured, and perfectly obliging friend; one who had done innumerable kindnesses to several before they knew it; nor did he ever advance any that were not worthy: no one more brave, more modest; none more humble, sober, and every way virtuous. Unhappy England in this illustrious person's loss! Universal was the mourning for him, and the eulogies on him; I staid night and day by his bedside to his last gasp, to close his dear eyes! O sad father, mother, wife, and children! What shall I add? He deserved all that a sincere friend, a brave soldier, a virtuous courtier, a loyal subject, an honest man, a bountiful master, and good Christian, could deserve of his prince and country. One thing more let me note, that he often expressed to me the abhorrence he had of that base and unworthy action which he was put upon, of engaging the Smyrna fleet² in time of peace, in which though he behaved himself like a great captain, yet he told me it was the only blot in his life, and troubled him exceedingly. Though he was commanded, and never examined further when he was so, yet he always spake of it with regret and detestation. The Countess was at the seat of her daughter, the Countess of Derby, about 200 miles off.³

30th August. I went to visit a French gentle-

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 21.]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 339.]

³ [She was the eldest daughter of Henry de Nassau, Lord of Auverquerque; and her own eldest daughter had married William Richard, ninth Earl of Derby.]

man, one Monsieur Chardin,¹ who having been thrice in the East Indies, Persia, and other remote countries, came hither in our return-ships from those parts, and it being reported that he was a very curious and knowing man, I was desired by the Royal Society to salute him in their name, and to invite him to honour them with his company. Sir Joseph Hoskins² and Sir Christopher Wren accompanied me. We found him at his lodgings in his Eastern habit, a very handsome person, extremely affable, a modest, well-bred man, not inclined to talk wonders. He spake Latin, and understood Greek, Arabic, and Persian, from eleven years' travels in those parts, whither he went in search of jewels, and was become very rich. He seemed about 36 years of age. After the usual civilities, we asked some account of the extraordinary things he must have seen in travelling over land to those places where few, if any, northern Europeans used to go, as the Black and Caspian Sea, Mingrelia, Bagdad, Nineveh, Persepolis, etc. He told us that the things most worthy of our sight would be, the draughts he had caused to be made of some noble ruins, etc.; for that, besides his own little talent that way, he had carried two good painters with him, to draw landscapes, measure and design the remains of the palace which Alexander burnt in his frolic at Persepolis, with divers temples, columns, *relievs*, and statues,

¹ [Afterwards Sir John, 1643-1712. Though a foreigner, he was knighted by Charles II. in 1681. He was a jewel merchant, and an enterprising traveller in Persia and the East, his accounts of which, 1671-1711, are still valuable. He died and was buried at Chiswick; but he has a memorial in Westminster Abbey. Bolton House, Turnham Green, where he lived, was pulled down about 1880. His name is, however, perpetuated in Chardin Road (Phillimore and Whitear's *Chiswick*, 1897, pp. 157, 172, 274).]

² [John Hoskins, 1634-1705; President of the Royal Society, 1682-83. He was not knighted at this date.]

yet extant, which he affirmed to be sculpture far exceeding anything he had observed either at Rome, in Greece, or in any other part of the world where magnificence was in estimation. He said there was an inscription in letters not intelligible, though entire. He was sorry he could not gratify the curiosity of the Society at present, his things not being yet out of the ship; but would wait on them with them on his return from Paris, whither he was going the next day, but with intention to return suddenly, and stay longer here, the persecution in France not suffering Protestants, and he was one, to be quiet.

He told us that Nineveh was a vast city, now all buried in her ruins, the inhabitants building on the subterranean vaults, which were, as appeared, the first stories of the old city;¹ that there were frequently found huge vases of fine earth, columns, and other antiquities; that the straw which the Egyptians required of the Israelites, was not to burn, or cover the rows of bricks as we use, but being chopped small to mingle with the clay, which being dried in the sun (for they bake not in the furnaces) would else cleave asunder; that in Persia are yet a race of Ignicolæ, who worship the sun and the fire as Gods; that the women of Georgia and Mingrelia were universally, and without any compare, the most beautiful creatures for shape, features, and figure, in the world, and therefore the Grand Seignor and Bashaws had had from thence most of their wives and concubines; that there had within these hundred years been Amazons amongst them, that is to say, a sort or race of valiant women, given to war; that Persia was extremely fertile; he spoke also of Japan and China, and of the many great errors of our late geographers, as we suggested matter for discourse.

¹ See *ante*, vol. ii. pp. 366-67.

We then took our leaves, failing of seeing his papers; but it was told us by others that indeed he durst not open, or show them, till he had first showed them to the French King; but of this he himself said nothing.

2nd September. I had an opportunity, his Majesty being still at Windsor, of seeing his private library at Whitehall, at my full ease. I went with expectation of finding some curiosities, but, though there were about 1000 volumes, there were few of importance which I had not perused before. They consisted chiefly of such books as had from time to time been dedicated, or presented to him; a few histories, some Travels and French books, abundance of maps and sea charts, entertainments and pomps, buildings and pieces relating to the Navy, some mathematical instruments; but what was most rare, were three or four Romish breviaries, with a great deal of miniature and monkish painting and gilding, one of which is most exquisitely done, both as to the figures, grotesques, and compartments, to the utmost of that curious art. There is another in which I find written by the hand of King Henry VII., his giving it to his dear daughter, Margaret, afterwards Queen of Scots, in which he desires her to pray for his soul, subscribing his name at length. There is also the process of the philosophers' great elixir, represented in divers pieces of excellent miniature, but the discourse is in high Dutch, a MS. There is another MS. in quarto, of above 800 years old, in French, being an institution of physic, and in the botanical part the plants are curiously painted in miniature; also a folio MS. of good thickness, being the several exercises, as Themes, Orations, Translations, etc., of King Edward VI., all written and subscribed by his own hand, and with his name very legible, and

My Best Love,
4:26-80

Being now (thro' the infinite Clemency of a gracious God) arriv'd to the sixtieth-year of my age; I have (upon very serious Consideration) thought it absolutely necessary, to make a more circumstantial Discussion & Search into all the passages of my whole Life, to this large period; And that what I have but hitherto don perhaps (yea, doubtless) too partially, and upon solemn Occasions chiefly, with great infirmities; I might now do Universally, and so, as I would desire to have my last Audit & Account stated, when God shall call me to die; and have then only ~~done~~ that Work (which is also a very great one) to finish. I cannot expect my time should now be long in this World. By the Course of Nature (tho' blessed be God I have enjoy'd wonderful health of body) I must, and do now looke when my Change shall come, and I would not be surpris'd (as I perceive daily most men are) with either weakness, paine or shipidity, which send them exceedingly indispos'd for the finishing of any thing of this nature, and altogether for beginning of it with any certaine Comfort. To put this then to adventure, I have not the Courage, and shall therefore endeavour so to prepare that I

in this Exercise some time; but find great necessity of your
Prayer, which I beg you will send up for me in particular,
that God will specially soften my heart, pardon my great sins,
accept & sanctifie my purposes of so living, as I may do his ser-
vant, and bestow his glorious presence with joy: And if it were not
too bold an interruption, I would also humbly desire to know, about
what hour tomorrow in the Evening, or Saturday, I might wait
upon you with least inconvenience, for I know you are full
of business; but you are also full of Charity; and it would be
no small consolation to me at this time, to receive more particularly
the Stroke of Remission from y^r Ministry & discerning Spirit,
and (I am perswaded) extraordinary power with God, full
of holy Compassion as you are. I humbly implore you in y^r
Prayer & Blessing, & remaine

J. I^r

most dutifull Servant.



FACSIMILE OF A LETTER FROM JOHN EVELYN TO ARCHBISHOP TENISON, 4TH SEPTEMBER, 1680

divers of the Greek interleaved and corrected after the manner of schoolboys' exercises, and that exceedingly well and proper; with some epistles to his preceptor, which show that young Prince to have been extraordinarily advanced in learning, and as Cardan, who had been in England, affirmed, stupendously knowing for his age. There is likewise his Journal,¹ no less testifying his early ripeness and care about the affairs of state.

There are besides many pompous volumes, some embossed with gold, and intaglios on agates, medals, etc. I spent three or four entire days, locked up, and alone, among these books and curiosities. In the rest of the private lodgings contiguous to this, are divers of the best pictures of the great masters, Raphael, Titian, etc., and, in my esteem, above all, the *Noli me tangere* of our Blessed Saviour to Mary Magdalen after his Resurrection, of Hans Holbein; than which I never saw so much reverence and kind of heavenly astonishment expressed in a picture.

There are also divers curious clocks, watches, and pendules of exquisite work, and other curiosities. An ancient woman who made these lodgings clean, and had all the keys, let me in at pleasure for a small reward, by means of a friend.

6th September. I dined with Sir Stephen Fox,² now one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury. This gentleman came first a poor boy from the choir of Salisbury, then he was taken notice of by Bishop Duppa, and afterwards waited on my Lord Percy (brother to Algernon Earl of Northumberland), who procured for him an inferior place amongst the Clerks of the Kitchen and Green-Cloth side, where he was found so humble, diligent,

¹ Several extracts from this journal are made by Burnet in his *History of the Reformation*.

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 249.]

industrious, and prudent in his behaviour, that his Majesty being in exile, and Mr. Fox waiting, both the King and Lords about him frequently employed him about their affairs, and trusted him both with receiving and paying the little money they had. Returning with his Majesty to England, after great wants and great sufferings, his Majesty found him so honest and industrious, and withal so capable and ready, that, being advanced from Clerk of the Kitchen to that of the Green-Cloth, he procured to be Paymaster to the whole Army, and by his dexterity and punctual dealing he obtained such credit among the bankers, that he was in a short time able to borrow vast sums of them upon any exigence. The continual turning thus of money, and the soldiers' moderate allowance to him for keeping touch with them, did so enrich him, that he is believed to be worth at least £200,000, honestly got and unenvied; which is next to a miracle. With all this he continues as humble and ready to do a courtesy as ever he was.

He is generous, and lives very honourably, of a sweet nature, well-spoken, well-bred, and is so highly in his Majesty's esteem, and so useful, that being long since made a knight, he is also advanced to be one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and has the reversion of the Cofferer's place after Harry Brouncker. He has married his eldest daughter to my Lord Cornwallis, and gave her £12,000, and restored that entangled family besides. He matched his son to Mrs. Trollop, who brings with her (besides a great sum) near, if not altogether, £2000 per annum. Sir Stephen's lady (an excellent woman) is sister to Mr. Whittle, one of the King's chirurgeons. In a word, never was man more fortunate than Sir Stephen; he is a handsome person, virtuous, and very religious.

28th September. Came to my house some

German strangers and Signor Pietro, a famous musician, who had been long in Sweden in Queen Christina's Court ;¹ he sung admirably to a guitar, and had a perfect good tenor and base, and had set to Italian composure many of Abraham Cowley's pieces which showed extremely well. He told me that in Sweden the heat in some part of summer was as excessive as the cold in winter ; so cold, he affirmed, that the streets of all the towns are desolate, no creatures stirring in them for many months, all the inhabitants retiring to their stoves. He spake high things of that romantic Queen's learning and skill in languages, the majesty, of her behaviour, her exceeding wit, and that the histories she had read of other countries, especially of Italy and Rome, had made her despise her own. That the real occasion of her resigning her crown was the noblemen's importuning her to marry, and the promise which the Pope had made her of procuring her to be Queen of Naples, which also caused her to change her religion ; but she was cheated by his crafty Holiness,² working on her ambition ; that the reason of her killing her secretary at Fontainebleau,³ was, his revealing that intrigue with the

¹ [Christina, Queen of Sweden, 1626-89, daughter of Gustavus Adolphus. She had abdicated in June, 1654, and at this date was leading an eccentric life at Rome. Edward Browne writes thus of her in January, 1665 : "I was the other night at the Queene of Sweden's, shee is low and fat, a little crooked ; goes commonly with a velvet coat, cravat, and man's perruke ; shee is continually merry, hath a free carriage with her, talks and laughs with all strangers, whom shee entertains, once in a weake, with musick, and now this carnivall every other night with comedies" (Sir T. Browne's *Works*, 1836, i. 86).]

² Pope Alexander VII., of the family of Chigi, at Siena.

³ [The Marquis Monaldeschi, her Chamberlain and quondam favourite. In 1657, she subjected him to a mock trial for high treason ; and then had him assassinated by three men in the *Galerie des Cerfs*, under the eyes of a priest for whom she had previously sent to confess him.]

Pope. But, after all this, I rather believe it was her mad prodigality and extreme vanity, which had consumed those vast treasures the great Adolphus, her father, had brought out of Germany during his [campaigns] there and wonderful successes; and that, if she had not voluntarily resigned, as foreseeing the event, the Estates of her kingdom would have compelled her to do so.

30th October. I went to London to be private, my birthday being the next day, and I now arrived at my sixtieth year; on which I began a more solemn survey of my whole life, in order to the making and confirming my peace with God, by an accurate scrutiny of all my actions past, as far as I was able to call them to mind. How difficult and uncertain, yet how necessary a work! The Lord be merciful to me, and accept me! Who can tell how oft he offendeth? Teach me, therefore, so to number my days, that I may apply my heart unto wisdom, and make my calling and election sure. Amen, Lord Jesus!

31st. I spent this whole day in exercises. A stranger preached at Whitehall¹ on Luke xvi. 30, 31. I then went to St. Martin's, where the Bishop of St. Asaph² preached on 1 Peter iii. 15; the holy Communion followed, at which I participated, humbly imploring God's assistance in the great work I was entering into. In the afternoon, I heard Dr. Sprat, at St. Margaret's, on Acts xvii. 11.

I began and spent the whole week in examining my life, begging pardon for my faults, assistance and blessing for the future, that I might, in some sort, be prepared for the time that now drew near, and not have the great work to begin, when one can work no longer. The Lord Jesus help

¹ Probably to the King's household, very early in the morning, as the custom was.

² [See *ante*, p. 48.]

and assist me! I therefore stirred little abroad till the 5th November, when I heard Dr. Tenison,¹ the now vicar of St. Martin's; Dr. Lloyd, the former incumbent, being made Bishop of St. Asaph.

7th November. I participated of the Blessed Communion, finishing and confirming my resolutions of giving myself up more entirely to God, to whom I had now most solemnly devoted the rest of the poor remainder of life in this world; the Lord enabling me, who am an unprofitable servant, a miserable sinner, yet depending on his infinite goodness and mercy accepting my endeavours.

15th. Came to dine with us Sir Richard Anderson,² his lady, son, and wife, sister to my daughter-in-law.

30th. The anniversary election at the Royal Society brought me to London, where was chosen President that excellent person and great philosopher, Mr. Robert Boyle,³ who indeed ought to have been the very first; but neither his infirmity nor his modesty could now any longer excuse him. I desired I might for this year be left out of the Council, by reason my dwelling was in the country. The Society according to custom dined together.

This signal day begun the trial (at which I was present) of my Lord Viscount Stafford,⁴ for conspiring the death of the King; second [fifth?] son to my Lord Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel and Surrey,⁵ Earl Marshal of England, and grandfather to the present Duke of Norfolk,⁶ whom I so well knew,

¹ [Dr. Thomas Tenison, 1636-1715, at this date Rector of St. Martin's in the Fields, eventually Archbishop of Canterbury.]

² [Of Pendley (see *post*, under 16th May, 1683).]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 110.]

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 26. He was the oldest of the five prisoners in the Tower (see vol. ii. p. 307), being sixty-six; and, according to Reresby, was selected because he was deemed "weaker than the other lords, . . . and so less able to make his defence" (*Memoirs*, 1875, p. 194).]

⁵ [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 22.]

⁶ [See *ante*, p. 16.]

and from which excellent person I received so many favours.¹ It was likewise his birthday.² The trial was in Westminster-Hall,³ before the King, Lords, and Commons; just in the same manner as, forty years past,⁴ the great and wise Earl of Strafford (there being but one letter differing their names) received his trial for pretended ill government in Ireland, in the very same place, this Lord Stafford's father being then High-Steward.⁵ The place of sitting was now exalted some considerable height from the paved floor of the Hall, with a stage of boards. The throne, woolpacks for the Judges, long forms for the Peers, chair for the Lord Steward, exactly ranged, as in the House of Lords. The sides on both hands scaffolded to the very roof for the members of the House of Commons. At the upper end, and on the right side of the King's state, was a box for his Majesty, and on the left, others for the great ladies, and overhead a gallery for ambassadors and public ministers. At the lower end, or entrance, was a bar, and place for the prisoner, the Lieutenant of the Tower of London, the axe-bearer and guards, my Lord Stafford's two daughters, the Marchioness of Winchester⁶ being one; there was likewise a box for my Lord to retire into. At the right hand, in another box, somewhat higher, stood the witnesses; at the left, the managers, in the name of the Commons of England, namely, Serjeant Maynard

¹ [Evelyn here means the aforesaid Lord Thomas Howard.]

² [Lord Stafford was born 30th November, 1614.]

³ [“‘To the shortening the promenade of the lawyers and the severe oppression of the shops,’ which ordinarily occupied its floor” (Trevelyan's *England under the Stuarts*, 1904, p. 413).]

⁴ [In 1641 (see *ante*, vol. i. p. 22).]

⁵ [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 22.]

⁶ [Widow and third wife of John, fifth Marquess of Winchester (d. 1675), who held Basing House for Charles I. against the Parliamentarians till it was burned down.]

(the great lawyer, the same who prosecuted the cause against the Earl of Strafford forty years before, being now near eighty years of age),¹ Sir William Jones, late Attorney-General, Sir Francis Winnington, a famous pleader, and Mr. Treby, now Recorder of London,² not appearing in their gowns as lawyers, but in their cloaks and swords, as representing the Commons of England: to these were joined Mr. Hampden,³ Dr. Sacheverell,⁴ Mr. Poule, Colonel Titus, Sir Thomas Lee, all gentlemen of quality, and noted parliamentary men. The two first days, in which were read the commission and impeachment, were but a tedious entrance into matter of fact, at which I was but little present. But, on Thursday, I was commodiously seated amongst the Commons, when the witnesses were sworn and examined. The principal witnesses were Mr. Oates (who called himself Dr.), Mr. Dugdale,⁵ and Turberville.⁶ Oates swore that he delivered a commission to Viscount Stafford from the Pope, to be Paymaster-General to an army intended to be raised;—Dugdale, that being at Lord Aston's, the prisoner dealt with him plainly to murder his Majesty; and Turberville, that at Paris he also proposed the same to him.⁷

¹ [Sir John Maynard, 1602-90.]

² George Treby, 1644-1700, afterwards Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and knighted in 1681. He was also member of Parliament for Plympton, in Devonshire, where he was born.

³ [John Hampden, 1656-96, grandson of John Hampden.]

⁴ [William Sacheverell, 1638-91, the politician.]

⁵ [Stephen Dugdale, 1640-83, the informer, Lord Aston's steward.]

⁶ [Edward Turberville, the informer, 1648-81.]

⁷ ["They seemed so positive in this and other dangerous evidence," says Reresby, "that myself that sat and heard most of the trial knew not what to believe, had the evidence been men of any credit; but such incoherences, and indeed contradictions in my judgment, appeared towards the latter end of the trial, that for my own part I was satisfied at last of its untruth" (*Memoirs*, 1875, p. 194).]

3rd December. The depositions of my Lord's witnesses were taken, to invalidate the King's witnesses; they were very slight persons, but, being fifteen or sixteen, they took up all that day, and in truth they rather did my Lord injury than service.

4th. Came other witnesses of the Commons to corroborate the King's, some being Peers, some Commons, with others of good quality, who took off all the former day's objections, and set the King's witnesses *recti in Curia*.

6th. Sir William Jones summed up the evidence; to him succeeded all the rest of the managers, and then Mr. Henry Poule¹ made a vehement oration. After this my Lord, as on all occasions, and often during the trial, spoke in his own defence, denying the charge altogether, and that he had never seen Oates, or Turberville, at the time and manner affirmed: in truth, their testimony did little weigh with me; Dugdale's only seemed to press hardest, to which my Lord spake a great while, but confusedly, without any method.

One thing my Lord said as to Oates, which I confess did exceedingly affect me: That a person who during his depositions should so vauntingly brag that though he went over to the Church of Rome, yet he was never a Papist, nor of their religion, all the time that he seemed to apostatise from the Protestant, but only as a spy; though he confessed he took their sacrament, worshipped images, went through all their oaths, and discipline of their proselytes, swearing secrecy and to be faithful, but with intent to come over again and betray them;—that such an hypocrite, that had so deeply prevaricated as even to turn idolater (for so we of the Church of England termed it), attesting God so solemnly that he was entirely theirs and

¹ [A manager.]

devoted to their interest, and consequently (as he pretended) trusted ;—I say, that the witness of such a profligate wretch should be admitted against the life of a peer,—this my Lord looked upon as a monstrous thing, and such as must needs redound to the dishonour of our religion and nation. And verily I am of his Lordship's opinion : such a man's testimony should not be taken against the life of a dog. But the merit of something material which he discovered against Coleman,¹ put him in such esteem with the Parliament, that now, I fancy, he stuck at nothing, and thought everybody was to take what he said for gospel. The consideration of this, and some other circumstances, began to stagger me ; particularly how it was possible that one who went among the Papists on such a design, and pretended to be intrusted with so many letters and commissions from the Pope and the party, nay and delivered them to so many great persons, should not reserve one of them to show, nor so much as one copy of any commission, which he who had such dexterity in opening letters might certainly have done, to the undeniable conviction of those whom he accused ; but, as I said, he gained credit on Coleman. But, as to others whom he so madly flew upon, I am little inclined to believe his testimony, he being so slight a person, so passionate, ill-bred, and of such impudent behaviour ; nor is it likely that such piercing politicians as the Jesuits should trust him with so high and so dangerous secrets.

7th December. On Tuesday, I was again at the trial, when judgment was demanded ; and, after my Lord had spoken what he could in denying the fact, the managers answering the objections, the Peers adjourned to their House, and within two hours returned again. There was, in the mean-

¹ See *ante*, p. 26.

time, this question put to the judges, "whether there being but one witness to any single crime, or act, it could amount to convict a man of treason." They gave an unanimous opinion that in case of treason they all were overt acts, for though no man should be condemned by one witness for any one act, yet for several acts to the same intent, it was valid; which was my Lord's case. This being past, and the Peers in their seats again, the Lord Chancellor Finch¹ (this day the Lord High Steward) removing to the woolsack next his Majesty's state, after summoning the Lieutenant of the Tower to bring forth his prisoner, and proclamation made for silence, demanded of every peer (who were in all eighty-six) whether William, Lord Viscount Stafford, were guilty of the treason laid to his charge, or not guilty.

Then the Peer spoken to, standing up, and laying his right hand upon his breast, said Guilty, or Not guilty, upon my honour, and then sat down, the Lord Steward noting their suffrages as they answered upon a paper: when all had done, the number of Not guilty being but 31, the Guilty 55: and then, after proclamation for silence again, the Lord Steward directing his speech to the prisoner, against whom the axe was turned edgewise and not before, in aggravation of his crime, he being ennobled by the King's father, and since received many favours from his present Majesty: after enlarging on his offence, deploring first his own unhappiness that he who had never condemned any man before should now be necessitated to begin with him, he then pronounced sentence of death by hanging, drawing, and quartering, according to form, with great solemnity and dreadful gravity; and, after a short pause, told the prisoner that he believed the Lords would intercede for the

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 218.]

omission of some circumstances¹ of his sentence, beheading only excepted; and then breaking his white staff, the Court was dissolved. My Lord Stafford during all this latter part spake but little, and only gave their Lordships thanks after the sentence was pronounced; and indeed behaved himself modestly, and as became him.²

It was observed that all his own relations of his name and family condemned him, except his nephew, the Earl of Arundel,³ son to the Duke of Norfolk. And it must be acknowledged that the whole trial was carried on with exceeding gravity: so stately and august an appearance I had never seen before; for, besides the innumerable spectators of gentlemen and foreign ministers, who saw and heard all the proceedings, the prisoner had the consciences of all the Commons of England for his accusers, and all the Peers to be his Judges and Jury. He had likewise the assistance of what counsel he would, to direct him in his plea, who stood by him. And yet I can hardly think that a person of his age and experience should engage men whom he never saw before (and one of them that came to visit him as a stranger at Paris) *point blank* to murder the King: God only who searches hearts, can discover the truth. Lord Stafford was not a man beloved, especially of his own family.

12th December. This evening, looking out of my chamber-window towards the west, I saw a meteor

¹ [Drawing and quartering, which the King remitted. What Burke's *Peerage* calls this "iniquitous attainder," was not reversed until 1824.]

² ["He heard his accusers, and defended himself with great resolution, and received his sentence with no less courage, which stayed by him till he laid his head upon the block [see *post*, p. 66], protesting his innocence to the last" (Reresby's *Memoirs*, 1875, p. 194).]

³ [Henry Howard, Earl of Arundel (Lord Mowbray), afterwards seventh Duke of Norfolk, 1655-1701 (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 190).]

of an obscure bright colour, very much in shape like the blade of a sword, the rest of the sky very serene and clear. What this may portend, God only knows; but such another phenomenon I remember to have seen in 1640, about the trial of the great Earl of Strafford, preceding our bloody Rebellion.¹ I pray God avert his judgments! We have had of late several comets, which though I believe appear from natural causes, and of themselves operate not, yet I cannot despise them. They may be warnings from God, as they commonly are forerunners of his animadversions. After many days and nights of snow, cloudy and dark weather, the comet was very much wasted.

17th December. My daughter-in-law was brought to bed of a son, christened Richard.²

22nd. A solemn public Fast that God would prevent all Popish plots, avert his judgments, and give a blessing to the proceedings of parliament now assembled, and which struck at the succession of the Duke of York.

29th. The Viscount Stafford was beheaded on Tower Hill.³

1680-1: 10th February. I was at the wedding of my nephew, John Evelyn of Wotton, married by the Bishop of Rochester at Westminster, in Henry VII.'s chapel, to the daughter and heir of Mr. Eversfield, of Sussex, her portion £8000. The solemnity was kept with a few friends only at Lady Beckford's, the lady's mother.⁴

8th March. Visited and dined at the Earl of Essex's, with whom I spent most of the afternoon alone. Thence to my (yet living) godmother and kinswoman, Mrs. Keightley,⁵ sister to Sir Thomas

¹ [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 62.]

² [See *post*, 6th September, 1681.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 65.]

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 44.]

⁵ [Rose, daughter of Thomas Evelyn of Long Ditton, married Thomas Keightley of Staffordshire (see *ante*, vol. i. p. 5).]

Evelyn, and niece to my father, being now eighty-six years of age, sprightly, and in perfect health, her eyes serving her as well as ever, and of a comely countenance, that one would not suppose her above fifty.

27th March. The Parliament now convened at Oxford. Great expectation of his Royal Highness's case as to the succession,¹ against which the House was set.

An extraordinary sharp cold spring, not yet a leaf on the trees, frost and snow lying: whilst the whole nation was in the greatest ferment.

11th April. I took my leave of Dr. Lloyd (Bishop of St. Asaph)² at his house in Leicester Fields, now going to reside in his diocese.

12th. I dined at Mr. Brisbane's, Secretary to the Admiralty,³ a learned and industrious person, whither came Dr. Burnet, to thank me for some papers I had contributed towards his excellent *History of the Reformation*.⁴

26th. I dined at Don Pietro Ronquillo's, the Spanish Ambassador, at Wild House,⁵ who used me with extraordinary civility. The dinner was plentiful, half after the Spanish, half after the English way. After dinner, he led me into his bedchamber, where we fell into a long discourse concerning religion. Though he was a learned man in politics, and an advocate, he was very ignorant in religion, and able to defend any

¹ [Charles proposed that James should be banished, and William or Mary be made Regent. The Commons rejected this, as the Court really wished they would.]

² [See *ante*, p. 48.]

³ [See *post*, under 26th October, 1683.]

⁴ [Burnet's *History of the Reformation of the Church of England* was published 1679-1715.]

⁵ [Weld, or Wild House, on the site of Little Wild Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, was pulled down *circa* 1695 (see *post*, 9th December, 1688).]

point of controversy ; he was, however, far from being fierce. At parting, he earnestly wished me to apply humbly to the Blessed Virgin to direct me, assuring me that he had known divers who had been averse from the Roman Catholic religion, wonderfully enlightened and convinced by her intercession. He importuned me to come and visit him often.

29th April. But one shower of rain all this month.

5th May. Came to dine with me Sir William Fermor,¹ of Northamptonshire, and Sir Christopher Wren, his Majesty's Architect and Surveyor, now building the Cathedral of St. Paul, and the Column in memory of the City's conflagration,² and was in hand with the building of fifty parish churches. A wonderful genius had this incomparable person.

16th. Came my Lady Sunderland,³ to desire that I would propose a match to Sir Stephen Fox⁴ for her son, Lord Spencer,⁵ to marry Mrs. Jane, Sir Stephen's daughter. I excused myself all I was able ; for the truth is, I was afraid he would prove an extravagant man : for, though a youth of extraordinary parts, and had an excellent education to render him a worthy man, yet his early inclinations to extravagance made me apprehensive, that I should not serve Sir Stephen by proposing it, like a friend ; this being now his only daughter, well-bred, and likely to receive a large share of her father's opulence. Lord Sunderland was much sunk in his estate by gaming and other prodigalities, and was now no longer Secretary of State, having fallen into displeasure of the King for siding with the Commons about the succession ; but which, I am assured, he did not do out of his

¹ [See *ante*, p. 30.]

² [The Monument was erected 1671-77.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 330.]

⁴ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 249.]

⁵ [Lord Spencer died before his father, who was succeeded by his second son, Charles (see *post*, p. 238).]

own inclination, or for the preservation of the Protestant religion ; but by mistaking the ability of the party to carry it. However, so earnest and importunate was the Countess, that I did mention it to Sir Stephen, who said that it was too great an honour, that his daughter was very young as well as my Lord, and he was resolved never to marry her without the parties' mutual liking ; with other objections which I neither would nor could contradict. He desired me to express to the Countess the great sense he had of the honour done him, that his daughter and her son were too young ; that he would do nothing without her liking, which he did not think her capable of expressing judiciously, till she was sixteen or seventeen years of age, of which she now wanted four years, and that I would put it off as civilly as I could.

20th May. Our new curate preached, a pretty hopeful young man, yet somewhat raw, newly come from college, full of Latin sentences, which in time will wear off. He read prayers very well.

25th. There came to visit me Sir William Walter and Sir John Elowes : and, the next day, the Earl of Kildare,¹ a young gentleman related to my wife, and other company. There had scarce fallen any rain since Christmas.

2nd June. I went to Hampton Court, when the Surrey gentlemen presented their addresses to his Majesty, whose hand I kissed, introduced by the Duke of Albemarle. Being at the Privy Council, I took another occasion of discoursing with Sir Stephen Fox about his daughter and to revive that business, and at last brought it to this : That, in case the young people liked one the other, after four years, he first desiring to see a particular of my Lord's present estate if I could transmit it to him privately, he would make her portion £14,000,

¹ John FitzGerald, 18th Earl of Kildare, 1661-1707.

though to all appearance he might likely make it £50,000 as easily, his eldest son having no child, and growing very corpulent.

12th June. It still continued so great a drought as had never been known in England, and it was said to be universal.

14th August. No sermon this afternoon, which I think did not happen twice in this parish these thirty years; so gracious has God been to it, and indeed to the whole nation: God grant that we abuse not this great privilege, either by our wantonness, schism, or unfaithfulness, under such means as he has not favoured any other nation under Heaven besides!

23rd. I went to Wotton, and, on the following day, was invited to Mr. Denzil Onslow's at his seat at Pyrford,¹ where was much company, and such an extraordinary feast, as I had hardly seen at any country gentleman's table. What made it more remarkable was, that there was not anything save what his estate about it did afford; as venison, rabbits, hares, pheasants, partridges, pigeons, quails, poultry, all sorts of fowl in season from his own decoy near his house, and all sorts of fresh fish. After dinner, we went to see sport at the decoy, where I never saw so many herons.

The seat stands on a flat, the ground pasture, rarely watered, and exceedingly improved since Mr. Onslow bought it of Sir Robert Parkhurst, who spent a fair estate. The house is timber, but commodious, and with one ample dining-room, the hall adorned with paintings of fowl and huntings, etc., the work of Mr. Barlow,² who is excellent in this kind from the life.

¹ [Pyrford, or Pirford Park (now converted into farm land), not far from Ripley. John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's (1621-31), once lived here. Lord Onslow is Lord of the Manor.]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 109.]

30th August. From Wotton I went to see Mr. Hussey¹ (at Sutton in Shere), who has a very pretty seat well watered, near my brother's. He is the neatest husband for curious ordering his domestic and field accommodations, and what pertains to husbandry, that I have ever seen, as to his granaries, tacklings, tools, and utensils, ploughs, carts, stables, wood-piles, wood-house, even to hen-roosts and hog-troughs. Methought, I saw old Cato, or Varro, in him; all substantial, all in exact order. The sole inconvenience he lies under, is the great quantity of sand which the stream brings along with it, and fills his canals and receptacles for fish too soon. The rest of my time of stay at Wotton was spent in walking about the grounds and goodly woods, where I have in my youth so often entertained my solitude; and so, on the 2nd of September, I once more returned to my home.

6th September. Died my pretty grandchild, and was interred on the 8th [at Deptford].²

14th. Dined with Sir Stephen Fox, who proposed to me the purchasing of Chelsea College,³ which his Majesty had sometime since given to our Society, and would now purchase it again to build an hospital, or infirmary for soldiers there, in which he desired my assistance as one of the Council of the Royal Society.

15th. I had another opportunity of visiting his Majesty's private library, at Whitehall.⁴

To Sir Samuel Morland's to see his house and mechanics.⁵

¹ See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 315.

² [See *ante*, p. 66.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 296.]

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 54.]

⁵ In Lambeth, at what is now Vauxhall, where Sir Samuel Morland had fitted up a house. It contained a large room, furnished magnificently, and elaborate fountains constructed in the garden. He was much in favour with Charles the Second for services he had rendered to him while abroad, and this is probably the place to which it is said the King and his Ladies

17th September. I went with Monsieur Foubert about taking the Countess of Bristol's house for an academy, he being lately come from Paris for his religion, and resolving to settle here.¹

23rd. I went to see Sir Thomas Bond's fine house and garden, at Peckham.²

2nd October. I went to Camberwell, where that good man Dr. Parr³ (late chaplain to Archbishop Ussher) preached on Acts xvi. 30.

11th. To Fulham, to visit the Bishop of London,⁴ in whose garden I first saw the *Sedum arborescens* in flower, which was exceedingly beautiful.

5th November. Dr Hooper⁵ preached on Mark xii. 16, 17, before the King, of the usurpation of the Church of Rome. This is one of the first rank of pulpit men in the nation.

15th. I dined with the Earl of Essex,⁶ who, after dinner in his study, where we were alone, related to me how much he had been scandalised and injured

used to cross the water to go to. See Manning and Bray's *Surrey*, iii. 489-91. Sir Samuel became blind at last, and seems to have suffered from a sort of religious melancholy. See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 276; and *post*, under 16th June, 1683, and 25th October, 1695.

¹ [In July, 1680, Major Foubert's Academy on the French model, "for riding, fencing, dancing, branding arms, and mathematics," was in Sherwood (or Sherrard) Street, Piccadilly, near the Haymarket. It was there in 1681 and 1682. Then apparently it was moved to the passage known by his name, connecting King Street with Swallow Street; and here it remained until, in 1813-20, part of Swallow Street was pulled down for the Regent Street improvements. There is a coloured drawing of Foubert's Academy by C. Tomkins, 1801, in the British Museum. It was in Foubert's Academy that the younger Königsmarck, Philip, was living with his Governor at the time of Thynne's murder (see *post*, under 15th November); and here also for a few days, at the same date, lodged the elder brother, Carl Johann von Königsmarck, the principal in that affair (*Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*, 1875, p. 237).]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 392.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 338.]

⁴ [Dr. Compton (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 299).]

⁵ [Dr. George Hooper, 1640-1727, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells.]

⁶ [See *ante*, p. 44.]

in the report of his being privy to the marriage of his Lady's niece, the rich young widow of the late Lord Ogle, sole daughter of the Earl of Northumberland; showing me a letter of Mr. Thynne's, excusing himself for not communicating his marriage to his Lordship. He acquainted me also with the whole story of that unfortunate lady being betrayed by her grandmother, the Countess of Northumberland, and Colonel Bret, for money; and that though, upon the importunity of the Duke of Monmouth, he had delivered to the grandmother a particular of the jointure which Mr. Thynne pretended he would settle on the lady, yet he totally discouraged the proceeding, as by no means a competent match for one that both by birth and fortune might have pretended to the greatest prince in Christendom; that he also proposed the Earl of Kingston, or the Lord Cranburn, but was by no means for Mr. Thynne.¹

¹ Thomas Thynne, of Longleat Hall, Wilts, 1648-82, commonly known as "Tom of Ten Thousand" (a year), and the "Issachar" of Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*. In 1681 he had married Elizabeth Percy (1667-1722), only surviving daughter and heiress of Josceline, eleventh and last Earl of Northumberland, and widow of Henry Cavendish, Earl of Ogle; but she had fled from Thynne into Holland shortly after the ceremony. [He was shot in his coach at the lower end of St. Alban's Street, near the Haymarket, on February 12, 1682, by one Colonel Christopher Vratz, and two others, a Swedish lieutenant, John Stern, and a Polander, all three acting, it was believed, in the interests of Count Carl Johann von Königsmarck (elder brother of Philip, afterwards the lover of Sophia Dorothea of Celle), a former suitor of Lady Ogle. Königsmarck contrived to get off, but Vratz and his colleagues were hanged, March 10, on the spot where the murder was committed. Their victim was buried in Westminster Abbey, where there is a *bas-relief* depicting his death. Sir John Reresby, at this date (like Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey) a Justice of Peace for Middlesex and Westminster, was very active in this case, of which he gives an account at pp. 235-241 of his *Memoirs*, 1875.] It may be added, assuming the truth of what Lord Essex conveyed to Evelyn in the text, that the inclinations of the lady were not consulted in her second union;

19th November. I dined with my worthy friend, Mr. Erskine,¹ Master of the Charter-house, uncle to the Duchess of Monmouth; a wise and learned gentleman, fitter to have been a privy councillor and minister of state than to have been laid aside.

24th. I was at the audience of the Russian Ambassador before both their Majesties in the Banqueting-house. The presents were carried before him, held up by his followers in two ranks before the King's State, and consisted of tapestry (one suite of which was doubtlessly brought from France as being of that fabric, the Ambassador having passed through that kingdom as he came out of Spain), a large Persian carpet, furs of sable and ermine, etc.; but nothing was so splendid and exotic as the Ambassador who came soon after the King's restoration.² This present Ambassador was exceedingly offended that his coach was not permitted to come into the Court, till, being told that no King's Ambassador did, he was pacified, yet requiring an attestation of it under the hand of Sir Charles Cotterell, the Master of the Ceremonies; being, it seems, afraid he should offend his Master, if he omitted the least punctilio. It was reported he condemned his son to lose his head for shaving

and this may have given rise to the suspicion that she encouraged Count Königsmarck's addresses, and was privy to his designs upon her husband. [She afterwards (1682) married Charles Seymour, sixth Duke of Somerset (1662-1748), and was attacked in Swift's *Windsor Prophecy* (1711):—

And, dear Englund, if ought I understond,
Beware of *Carrots*, from *Northumberlond*;
Carrots sown *Thynne* a deep root may get,
If so be they are in *Somer set*;
Their *Conyngs* mark thou; for I have been told
They *assassine* when young, and *poison* when old, etc.]

¹ [William Erskine, d. 1685. He was Master of Charterhouse 1677-85, and Cup-bearer to Charles II. The Duchess of Monmouth was Ann Scott, Countess of Buccleuch.]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 197.]

off his beard, and putting himself in the French mode at Paris, and that he would have executed it, had not the French King interceded—but qy. of this.

30th November. Sir Christopher Wren chosen President [of the Royal Society], Mr. Austine, Secretary, with Dr. Plot,¹ the ingenious author of the *History of Oxfordshire*. There was a most illustrious appearance.

1681-2: 11th January. I saw the audience of the Morocco Ambassador,² his retinue not numerous. He was received in the Banqueting-house, both their Majesties being present. He came up to the throne without making any sort of reverence, not bowing his head, or body. He spake by a renegado Englishman, for whose safe return there was a promise. They were all clad in the Moorish habit, cassocks of coloured cloth, or silk, with buttons and loops, over this an *alhaga*, or white woollen mantle, so large as to wrap both head and body, a sash, or small turban, naked-legged and armed, but with leather socks like the Turks, rich scymitar, and large calico sleeved shirts. The Ambassador had a string of pearls oddly woven in his turban. I fancy the old Roman habit was little different as to the mantle and naked limbs. He was a handsome person, well-featured, of a wise look, subtle, and extremely civil. Their presents were lions and ostriches;³ their errand about a

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 381.]

² Named Hamet. He made his public entry through London the fifth of this month. On the thirtieth of May following, he was entertained at Oxford; and, about the same time, dined with Elias Ashmole, who made him a present of a magnifying glass. July 14, the Ambassador took his leave of the King, and on the 23rd of the same month embarked for his own country. There is a large print of him by Robert White.

³ "That Ambassador's present to the King was two lions and thirty ostriches, which his Majesty laughed at, saying he knew nothing fitter to return than a flock of geese" (Reresby's *Memoirs*, 1875, p. 232).

peace at Tangier. But the concourse and tumult of the people was intolerable, so as the officers could keep no order, which these strangers were astonished at at first, there being nothing so regular, exact, and performed with such silence, as is on all these public occasions of their country, and indeed over all the Turkish dominions.

14th January. Dined at the Bishop of Rochester's,¹ at the Abbey, it being his marriage-day, after twenty-four years. He related to me how he had been treated by Sir William Temple, foreseeing that he might be a delegate in the concern of my Lady Ogle now likely to come in controversy upon her marriage with Mr. Thynne; also, how earnestly the late Earl of Danby, Lord Treasurer,² sought his friendship, and what plain and sincere advice he gave him from time to time about his miscarriages and partialities; particularly his outing Sir John Duncombe³ from being Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir Stephen Fox, above all, from Paymaster of the Army. The Treasurer's excuse and reason was, that Fox's credit was so over-great with the bankers and monied men, that he could procure none but by his means; "for that reason," replied the Bishop, "I would have made him my friend, Sir Stephen being a person both honest and of credit." He told him likewise of his stateliness and difficulty of access, and several other miscarriages, and which indeed made him hated.

24th. To the Royal Society, where at the Council we passed a new law for the more accurate consideration of candidates, as whether they would really be useful; also, concerning the

¹ [Dr. Dolben (see *ante*, p. 11).]

² [The Earl of Danby did not die till 1712. At this moment he was a prisoner in the Tower. Evelyn possibly means he was no longer Lord Treasurer.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 247.]

honorary members, that none should be admitted but by diploma.

This evening, I was at the entertainment of the Morocco Ambassador at the Duchess of Portsmouth's glorious apartments at Whitehall,¹ where was a great banquet of sweetmeats and music; but at which both the Ambassador and his retinue behaved themselves with extraordinary moderation and modesty, though placed about a long table, a lady between two Moors, and amongst these were the King's natural children, namely Lady Lichfield and Sussex, the Duchess of Portsmouth, Nelly, etc., concubines, and cattle of that sort, as splendid as jewels and excess of bravery could make them; the Moors neither admiring nor seeming to regard anything, furniture or the like, with any earnestness, and but decently tasting of the banquet. They drank a little milk and water, but not a drop of wine; they also drank of a sorbet and jacolatt;² did not look about, or stare on the ladies, or express the least surprise, but with a courtly negligence in pace, countenance, and whole behaviour, answering only to such questions as were asked with a great deal of wit and gallantry, and so gravely took leave with this compliment, that God would bless the Duchess of Portsmouth and the Prince her son, meaning the little Duke of Richmond. The King came in at the latter end, just as the Ambassador was going away. In this manner was this slave (for he was no more at home) entertained by most of the nobility in town, and went often to Hyde Park on horseback, where he and his retinue showed their extraordinary activity in horsemanship, and flinging and catching their lances at full speed; they rode very short, and could stand upright at full speed, managing their spears with incredible agility. He went

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 385.]

² Sherbet and chocolate.

sometimes to the theatres, where upon any foolish or fantastical action, he could not forbear laughing, but he endeavoured to hide it with extraordinary modesty and gravity. In a word, the Russian Ambassador, still at Court, behaved himself like a clown, compared to this civil heathen.

27th January. This evening, Sir Stephen Fox acquainted me again with his Majesty's resolution of proceeding in the erection of a Royal Hospital for emerited soldiers on that spot of ground which the Royal Society had sold to his Majesty for £1300,¹ and that he would settle £5000 per annum on it, and build to the value of £20,000 for the relief and reception of four companies, namely, 400 men, to be as in a college or monastery. I was therefore desired by Sir Stephen (who had not only the whole managing of this, but was, as I perceived, himself to be a grand benefactor, as well it became him who had gotten so vast an estate by the soldiers) to assist him, and consult what method to cast it in, as to the government. So, in his study we arranged the governor, chaplain, steward, house-keeper, chirurgeon, cook, butler, gardener, porter, and other officers, with their several salaries and entertainments. I would needs have a library, and mentioned several books, since some soldiers might possibly be studious, when they were at leisure to recollect. Thus we made the first calculations, and set down our thoughts to be considered and digested better, to show his Majesty and the Archbishop. He also engaged me to consider of what laws and orders were fit for the government, which was to be in every respect as strict as in any religious convent.

After supper, came in the famous treble, Mr.

¹ [See *ante*, p. 71.]

Abell,¹ newly returned from Italy; I never heard a more excellent voice; one would have sworn it had been a woman's, it was so high, and so well and skilfully managed, being accompanied by Signor Francesco on the harpsichord.²

28th January. Mr. Pepys, late Secretary to the Admiralty, showed me a large folio containing the whole mechanic part and art of building royal ships and men of war, made by Sir Anthony Deane,³ being so accurate a piece from the very keel to the lead block, rigging, guns, victualling, manning, and even to every individual pin and nail, in a method so astonishing and curious, with a draught, both geometrical and in perspective, and several sections, that I do not think the world can show the like. I esteem this book as an extraordinary jewel.

7th February. My daughter, Mary, began to learn music of Signor Bartholomeo,⁴ and dancing of Monsieur Isaac,⁵ reputed the best masters.

Having had several violent fits of an ague, recourse was had to bathing my legs in milk up to the knees, made as hot as I could endure it; and sitting so in it in a deep churn, or vessel, covered with blankets, and drinking *carduus* posset,⁶ then going to bed and sweating, I not only missed that

¹ [John Abell, 1660-1716, "Gentleman of His Majesty's Chapel," 1679. He had been sent by Charles II. to cultivate his voice in Italy, 1681-82.]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 373.]

³ [Sir Anthony Deane, 1638-1721, shipbuilder and F.R.S.]

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 40.]

⁵ [Isaac was a famous dancing-master:—

And *Isaac's* Rigadoon shall live as long,
As Raphael's painting, or as Virgil's song.

There is a print of him by G. White after L. Goupy. He is mentioned in *Tatler*, No. 109.]

⁶ [*Carduus Benedictus*, or Blessed Thistle, used as a posset-drink for fevers (Miller's *Herbal*, 1722, p. 114).]

expected fit, but had no more, only continued weak, that I could not go to church till Ash-Wednesday, which I had not missed, I think, so long in twenty years, so gracious had God been to me.

After this warning and admonition, I now began to look over and methodise all my writings, accounts, letters, papers; inventoried the goods, and other articles of the house, and put things into the best order I could, and made my will; that now, growing in years, I might have none of these secular things and concerns to distract me, when it should please Almighty God to call me from this transitory life. With this, I prepared some special meditations and devotions for the time of sickness. The Lord Jesus grant them to be salutary for my poor soul in that day, that I may obtain mercy and acceptance!

1st March. My second grandchild was born, and christened the next day by our vicar at Sayes Court, by the name of John.¹ I beseech God to bless him!

2nd. Ash-Wednesday. I went to church: our vicar preached on Proverbs, showing what care and vigilance was required for the keeping of the heart upright. The Holy Communion followed, on which I gave God thanks for his gracious dealing with me in my late sickness, and affording me this blessed opportunity of praising Him in the congregation, and receiving the cup of salvation with new and serious resolutions.

Came to see and congratulate my recovery, Sir John Lowther,² Mr. Herbert,³ Mr. Pepys, Sir Anthony Deane,⁴ and Mr. Hill.⁵

¹ John Evelyn, *d.* 1763. He became his grandfather's successor, and was created a baronet in 1713. He married Ann, daughter of Edward Boscawen (see *ante*, p. 20).

² [See *ante*, p. 11.]

³ [Lord Herbert's nephew.]

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 79.]

⁵ [Abraham Hill, 1635-1721, Treasurer to the Royal Society.]

10th March. This day was executed Colonel Vratz, and some of his accomplices, for the execrable murder of Mr. Thynne,¹ set on by the principal Königsmarck. He went to execution like an undaunted hero, as one that had done a friendly office for that base coward, Count Königsmarck, who had hopes to marry his widow, the rich Lady Ogle, and was acquitted by a corrupt jury, and so got away. Vratz told a friend of mine who accompanied him to the gallows, and gave him some advice, that he did not value dying of a rush, and hoped and believed God would deal with him like a gentleman. Never man went, so unconcerned for his sad fate.²

24th. I went to see the corpse of that obstinate creature, Colonel Vratz, the King permitting that his body should be transported to his own country, he being of a good family, and one of the first embalmed by a particular art, invented by one William Russell, a coffin-maker, which preserved the body without disbowelling, or to appearance using any bituminous matter.³ The flesh was florid, soft, and full, as if the person were only sleeping. He had now been dead near fifteen days, and lay exposed in a very rich coffin lined with lead, too magnificent for so daring and horrid a murderer.

¹ [See *ante*, p. 73.]

² [Reresby confirms this account (*Memoirs*, 1875, p. 243). "The captain (Vratz) died without any expression of fear, or laying any guilt upon Count Coningsmark. Seeing me in my coach as he passed in the cart to execution, he bowed to me with a steady look, as he did to those he knew among the spectators, before he was turned off; in fine, his whole carriage, from his first being apprehended till the last, relished more of gallantry than religion." Reresby says that Vratz had led a forlorn hope at the siege of Mons, "where only two besides himself, of fifty under his command, came off with life" (*ibid.* p. 236).]

³ [Tar was used in these cases. "Have you brought the sawdust and *Tar* for embalming?"—says Sable, the undertaker, in Sc. i. of Steele's *Funeral*, 1701.]

At the meeting of the Royal Society were exhibited some pieces of amber sent by the Duke of Brandenburg, in one of which was a spider, in another a gnat, both very entire. There was a discourse of the tingeing of glass, especially with red, and the difficulty of finding any red colour effectual to penetrate glass, among the glass-painters; that the most diaphanous, as blue, yellow, etc., did not enter into the substance of what was ordinarily painted, more than very shallow, unless incorporated in the metal itself, other reds and whites not at all beyond the superficies.

5th April. To the Royal Society, where at a Council was regulated what collections should be published monthly, as formerly the transactions, which had of late been discontinued, but were now much called for by the curious abroad and at home.

12th. I went this afternoon with several of the Royal Society to a supper which was all dressed, both fish and flesh, in Monsieur Papin's digesters, by which the hardest bones of beef itself, and mutton, were made as soft as cheese, without water or other liquor, and with less than eight ounces of coals, producing an incredible quantity of gravy; and for close of all, a jelly made of the bones of beef, the best for clearness and good relish, and the most delicious that I had ever seen, or tasted. We eat pike and other fish bones, and all without impediment; but nothing exceeded the pigeons, which tasted just as if baked in a pie, all these being stewed in their own juice, without any addition of water save what swam about the digester, as *in balneo*; the natural juice of all these provisions acting on the grosser substances, reduced the hardest bones to tenderness; but it is best descanted with more particulars for extracting tinctures, preserving and stewing fruit, and saving fuel, in Dr. Papin's book, published and dedicated



CHELSEA COLLEGE

to our Society, of which he is a member. He is since gone to Venice with the late Resident here (and also a member of our Society), who carried this excellent mechanic, philosopher, and physician, to set up a philosophical meeting in that city. This philosophical supper caused much mirth amongst us, and exceedingly pleased all the company. I sent a glass of the jelly to my wife, to the reproach of all that the ladies ever made of their best hartshorn.¹

The season was unusually wet, with rain and thunder.

25th May. I was desired by Sir Stephen Fox and Sir Christopher Wren to accompany them to Lambeth, with the plot and design of the College to be built at Chelsea, to have the Archbishop's approbation.² It was a quadrangle of 200 feet square, after the dimensions of the larger quadrangle at Christ-Church, Oxford, for the accommodation of 440 persons, with governor and officers. This was agreed on.

The Duke and Duchess of York were just now come to London, after his escape and shipwreck,³ as he went by sea for Scotland.

¹ Denys Papin, or Papinus, 1647-1712, a French physician and mathematician, who possessed so remarkable a knowledge of mathematics, that he very nearly brought the invention of the steam-engine into working order. He assisted Mr. Boyle in his pneumatic experiments, and was afterwards mathematical professor at Marburg, 1688-95.

² [See *ante*, p. 71.]

³ [He had been shipwrecked in returning to Scotland after his last visit to London. "*May* 12 [1682]. Came account that the ship called the *Gloucester*, a third-rate, in which the Duke went for Scotland, was cast away on Yarmouth sands, and that all the passengers, save the Duke and about 160 persons, were drowned. Among those that were lost were my Lord O'Brien and Lord Roxburghe, Mr. Hyde, my Lord Clarendon's brother; all which proved too true" (*Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*, 1875, p. 250). See *post*, under 26th March, 1685. Pepys might have been among the number; but he had preferred to go in his own yacht—the *Catharine*.]

28th May. At the Rolls' chapel preached the famous Dr. Burnet on 2 Peter i. 10, describing excellently well what was meant by election; viz. not the effect of any irreversible decree, but so called because they embraced the Gospel readily, by which they became elect, or precious to God. It would be very needless to make our calling and election sure, were they irreversible and what the rigid Presbyterians pretend. In the afternoon, to St. Lawrence's church, a new and cheerful pile.¹

29th. I gave notice to the Bishop of Rochester of what Maimburg had published about the motives of the late Duchess of York's perversion, in his *History of Calvinism*; and did myself write to the Bishop of Winchester² about it, who being concerned in it, I urged him to set forth his vindication.

31st. The Morocco Ambassador being admitted an honorary member of the Royal Society, and subscribing his name and titles in Arabic, I was deputed by the Council to go and compliment him.

19th June. The Bantam,³ or East India Ambassadors (at this time we had in London the Russian, Moroccan, and Indian Ambassadors), being invited to dine at Lord George Berkeley's⁴ (now Earl), I went to the entertainment to contemplate the exotic guests. They were both very hard-favoured, and much resembling in countenance some sort of monkeys. We eat at two tables, the Ambassadors and interpreter by themselves. Their

¹ [St. Lawrence, Jewry, in the Ward of Cheap, built by Wren, 1671-80. It is perhaps the most carefully finished of Wren's churches.]

² Dr. Morley.

³ The name of one was Pungearon Nia Para; of the other Kaia Nebbe, or Keay Nabee. There are prints existing of both, representing them exactly as here described. There were others in the embassy, but probably of inferior degree.

⁴ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 134.]

garments were rich Indian silks, flowered with gold, viz. a close waistcoat to their knees, drawers, naked legs, and on their heads caps made like fruit-baskets. They wore poisoned daggers at their bosoms, the hafts carved with some ugly serpents' or devils' heads, exceeding keen, and of Damascus metal. They wore no sword. The second Ambassador (sent it seems to succeed in case the first should die by the way in so tedious a journey), having been at Mecca, wore a Turkish or Arab sash, a little part of the linen hanging down behind his neck, with some other difference of habit, and was half a negro, bare legged and naked feet, and deemed a very holy man. They sate crossed-legged like Turks, and sometimes in the posture of apes and monkeys; their nails and teeth as black as jet, and shining, which being the effect, as to their teeth, of perpetually chewing betel to preserve them from the tooth-ache, much raging in their country, is esteemed beautiful.

The first ambassador was of an olive hue, a flat face, narrow eyes, squat nose, and Moorish lips, no hair appeared; they wore several rings of silver, gold, and copper on their fingers, which was a token of knighthood, or nobility. They were of Java Major, whose princes have been turned Mahomedans not above fifty years since; the inhabitants are still pagans and idolaters. They seemed of a dull and heavy constitution, not wondering at anything they saw; but exceedingly astonished how our law gave us propriety in our estates, and so thinking we were all kings, for they could not be made to comprehend how subjects could possess anything but at the pleasure of their Prince, they being all slaves; they were pleased with the notion, and admired our happiness. They were very sober, and I believe subtle in their way. Their meat was cooked, carried up, and they

attended by several fat slaves, who had no covering save drawers, which appeared very uncouth and loathsome. They eat their pilau, and other spoon-meat, without spoons, taking up their pottage in the hollow of their fingers, and very dexterously flung it into their mouths without spilling a drop.

17th July. Came to dine with me, the Duke of Grafton and the young Earl of Ossory,¹ son to my most dear deceased friend.

30th. Went to visit our good neighbour, Mr. Bohun,² whose whole house is a cabinet of all elegancies, especially Indian; in the hall are contrivances of Japan screens, instead of wainscot; and there is an excellent pendule clock enclosed in the curious flower-work of Mr. Gibbons, in the middle of the vestibule. The landscapes of the screens represent the manner of living, and country of the Chinese. But, above all, his lady's cabinet is adorned on the fret, ceiling, and chimney-piece, with Mr. Gibbons' best carving. There are also some of Streater's³ best paintings, and many rich curiosities of gold and silver as growing in the mines. The gardens are exactly kept, and the whole place very agreeable and well watered. The owners are good neighbours, and Mr. Bohun has also built and endowed an hospital for eight poor people, with a pretty chapel, and every necessary accommodation.

1st August. To the Bishop of London at Fulham, to review the additions which Mr. Marshall⁴ had made to his curious book of flowers in miniature, and collection of insects.

4th. With Sir Stephen Fox, to survey the foundations of the Royal Hospital begun at Chelsea.

¹ [James Butler, 1665-1745, afterwards second Duke of Ormonde.]

² This was at Lee in Kent (see *ante*, p. 37).

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 211.]

⁴ [William Marshall (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 11 n.).]

9th August. The Council of the Royal Society had it recommended to them to be trustees and visitors, or supervisors, of the Academy which Monsieur Foubert¹ did hope to procure to be built by subscription of worthy gentlemen and noblemen, for the education of youth, and to lessen the vast expense the nation is at yearly by sending children into France to be taught military exercises. We thought good to give him all the encouragement our recommendation could procure.

15th. Came to visit me Dr. Rogers, an acquaintance of mine long since at Padua.² He was then Consul of the English nation, and student in that University, where he proceeded Doctor in Physic; presenting me now with the Latin oration he lately made upon the famous Dr. Harvey's anniversary in the College of Physicians, at London.

20th. This night I saw another comet, near Cancer, very bright, but the stream not so long as the former.

29th. Supped at Lord Clarendon's, with Lord Hyde,³ his brother, now the great favourite, who invited himself to dine at my house the Tuesday following.

30th [31st] October. Being my birthday, and I now entering my great climacterical of 63, after serious recollections of the years past, giving Almighty God thanks for all his merciful preservations and forbearance, begging pardon for my sins and unworthiness, and his blessing on me the year entering; I went with my Lady Fox to survey her building, and give some directions for the garden at Chiswick; the architect is Mr. May; somewhat heavy and thick, and not so well understood; the garden much too narrow, the place

¹ [See *ante*, p. 72.]

² [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 306.]

³ [Lawrence Hyde, 1641-1711, second son of Lord Clarendon, created Viscount Hyde and first Earl of Rochester in 1681.]

without water, near a highway, and near another great house of my Lord Burlington, little land about it, so that I wonder at the expense; but women will have their will.¹

25th November. I was invited to dine with Monsieur Lionberg, the Swedish Resident, who made a magnificent entertainment, it being the birthday of his King. There dined the Duke of Albemarle, Duke of Hamilton, Earl of Bath, Earl of Aylesbury, Lord Arran,² Lord Castlehaven, the son of him who was executed fifty years before, and several great persons. I was exceedingly afraid of drinking (it being a Dutch feast), but the Duke of Albemarle being that night to wait on his Majesty, excess was prohibited; and, to prevent all, I stole away and left the company as soon as we rose from table.

28th. I went to the Council of the Royal Society, for the auditing the last year's account, where I was surprised with a fainting fit that for a time took away my sight; but God being merciful to me, I recovered it after a short repose.

30th. I was exceedingly endangered and impor-

¹ [This house—a corner of which is shown in Kip's print (1708) of Lord Burlington's house at Chiswick—was built by May for Sir Stephen Fox. He made it his principal residence—says Lysons (*Environs of London*, 2nd ed., 1811, ii. 133)—when he had retired from public business. "King William was so pleased with it, that he is said to have exclaimed to the Earl of Portland, upon his first visit, 'This place is perfectly fine; I could live here five days.' This, it seems, was his usual expression when he was much pleased with a situation." It passed to Sir Stephen's youngest son, Henry, and then to others. When Lysons wrote, it was inhabited by Lady Mary Coke. After her death, the property was acquired by the Duke of Devonshire; the house was pulled down in 1812, and the grounds were added to Chiswick House. Bowack speaks (1705-6) of the gardens as "extraordinarily fine" (Phillimore and Whitear's *Chiswick*, 1897, pp. 12, 40, 268).]

² [James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, eldest son of the Duke of Hamilton.]

tuned to stand the election,¹ having so many voices, but by favour of my friends, and regard of my remote dwelling, and now frequent infirmities, I desired their suffrages might be transferred to Sir John Hoskins,² one of the Masters of Chancery; a most learned virtuoso as well as lawyer, who accordingly was elected.

7th December. Went to congratulate Lord Hyde (the great favourite), newly made Earl of Rochester,³ and lately marrying his eldest daughter to the Earl of Ossory.

18th. I sold my East India adventure of £250 principal for £750 to the Royal Society, after I had been in that company twenty-five years, being extraordinary advantageous, by the blessing of God.

1682-3: 28rd January. Sir Francis North,⁴ son to the Lord North, and Lord Chief Justice, being made Lord Keeper on the death of the Earl of Nottingham, the Lord Chancellor, I went to congratulate him. He is a most knowing, learned, and ingenious man, and, besides being an excellent person, of an ingenuous and sweet disposition, very skilful in music, painting, the new philosophy, and politer studies.

29th. Supped at Sir Joseph Williamson's,⁵ where was a select company of our Society, Sir William Petty, Dr. Gale (that learned school-master of St. Paul's),⁶ Dr. Whistler,⁷ Mr. Hill,⁸ etc. The conversation was philosophical and cheerful,

¹ For President of the Royal Society.

² [Sir John Hoskins, 1634-1705; P.R.S. 1682-83.]

³ See *supra*, p. 87.

⁴ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 344.]

⁵ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 220.]

⁶ Dr. Thomas Gale, 1635-1702; he was Greek Professor at Cambridge, High Master of St. Paul's School, 1672-97, and subsequently Dean of York. He was the author of several scholastic works; and was counted among the most learned men of his time.

⁷ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 389.]

⁸ [See *ante*, p. 80.]

on divers considerable questions proposed ; as of the hereditary succession of the Roman Emperors ; the Pica mentioned in the preface to our Common Prayer, which signifies only the Greek Kalendarium. These were mixed with lighter subjects.

2nd February. I made my court at St. James's, when I saw the sea-charts of Captain Collins,¹ which that industrious man now brought to show the Duke, having taken all the coasting from the mouth of the Thames as far as Wales, and exactly measuring every creek, island, rock, soundings, harbours, sands, and tides, intending next spring to proceed till he had finished the whole island, and that measured by chains and other instruments : a most exact and useful undertaking. He affirmed, that of all the maps put out since, there are none extant so true as those of John Norden,² who gave us the first in Queen Elizabeth's time ; all since him are erroneous.

12th. This morning, I received the news of the death of my father-in-law, Sir Richard Browne,³ Knt. and Bart., who died at my house at Sayes Court this day at ten in the morning, after he had laboured under the gout and dropsy for near six months, in the 78th year of his age. The funeral was solemnised on the 19th at Deptford, with as much decency as the dignity of the person, and our relation to him, required ; there being invited the Bishop of Rochester, several noblemen, knights, and all the fraternity of the Trinity Company, of which he had been Master, and others of the country. The vicar preached a short but proper

¹ Probably John Collins, 1625-83, who had been in the naval service of Venice, and who was employed at this time as an accountant in some of the Government offices, was a contributor to the *Transactions* of the Royal Society, and wrote several mathematical works.

² [John Norden, 1548-1625, topographer and surveyor.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 68.]

discourse on Psalm xxxix. 10, on the frailty of our mortal condition, concluding with an ample and well-deserved eulogy on the defunct, relating to his honourable birth and ancestors, education, learning in Greek and Latin, modern languages, travels, public employments, signal loyalty, character abroad, and particularly the honour of supporting the Church of England in its public worship during its persecution by the late rebels' usurpation and regicide, by the suffrages of divers Bishops, Doctors of the church, and others, who found such an asylum in his house and family at Paris, that in their disputes with the Papists (then triumphing over it as utterly lost) they used to argue for its visibility and existence from Sir R. Browne's chapel and assembly there. Then he spoke of his great and loyal sufferings during thirteen years' exile with his present Majesty, his return with him in the signal year 1660; his honourable employment at home, his timely recess to recollect himself, his great age, infirmities, and death.

He gave to the Trinity Corporation that land in Deptford on which are built those alms-houses for twenty-four widows of emerited seamen.¹ He was born the famous year of the Gunpowder Treason, in 1605, and being the last [male] of his family, left my wife, his only daughter, heir. His grandfather, Sir Richard Browne, was the great instrument under the great Earl of Leicester (favourite to Queen Elizabeth) in his government of the Netherlands. He was Master of the Household to King James, and Cofferer; I think was the first who regulated the compositions through England for the King's Household, provisions, progresses,² etc., which was so high

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 323.]

² Notice was taken of this in a previous passage of the *Diary*. The different counties were to find provisions of different sorts,

a service, and so grateful to the whole nation, that he had acknowledgments and public thanks sent him from all the counties; he died by the rupture of a vein in a vehement speech he made about the compositions in a Parliament of King James. By his mother's side he was a Gunson, Treasurer of the Navy in the reigns of Henry the Eighth, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, and, as by his large pedigree appears, related to divers of the English nobility. Thus ended this honourable person, after so many changes and tossings to and fro, in the same house where he was born. "Lord, teach us so to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom!"

By a special clause in his will, he ordered that his body should be buried in the church-yard under the south-east window of the chancel, adjoining to the burying-places of his ancestors, since they came out of Essex to Sayes Court,¹ he being much offended at the novel custom of burying every one within the body of the church and chancel; that being a favour heretofore granted to martyrs and great persons; this excess of making churches charnel-houses being of ill and irreverent example, and prejudicial to the health of the living, besides the continual disturbance of the pavement and seats, and several other indecencies. Dr. Hall, the pious Bishop of Norwich,² would also be so interred,³ as may be read in his testament.

16th March. I went to see Sir Josiah Child's

which were collected by officers called purveyors, whose extortions often excited the attention of Parliament (see *Archæologia*, vol. viii. pp. 329-62).

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 3.]

² [Joseph Hall, 1574-1656; Bishop of Norwich, 1641-47.]

³ As was afterwards, at Fulham, Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, who used to say, "The church-yard for the dead, the church for the living."

prodigious cost in planting walnut trees about his seat,¹ and making fishponds, many miles in circuit, in Epping Forest, in a barren spot, as oftentimes these suddenly monied men for the most part seat themselves. He from a merchant's apprentice, and management of the East India Company's stock, being arrived to an estate ('tis said) of £200,000; and lately married his daughter to the eldest son of the Duke of Beaufort, late Marquis of Worcester, with £50,000 portional present, and various expectations.

I dined at Mr. Houblon's,² a rich and gentle French merchant, who was building a house in the Forest, near Sir J. Child's, in a place where the late Earl of Norwich dwelt some time, and which came from his lady, the widow of Mr. Baker. It will be a pretty villa, about five miles from Whitechapel.

18th March. I went to hear Dr. Horneck³ preach at the Savoy Church, on Phil. ii. 5. He was a German born, a most pathetic preacher, a person of a saint-like life, and hath written an excellent treatise on Consideration.⁴

20th. Dined at Dr. Whistler's,⁵ at the

¹ [At Wanstead in Essex. Sir Josiah Child, 1630-99, bought the Manor in 1667 from Sir Robert Brookes, to whom it had been transferred by the Duke of York. Child was the autocrat of the East India Company, and the author of *A New Discourse of Trade*, 1668. His son Richard was created Viscount Castlemaine in 1718, and Earl Tylney in 1732. The first Wanstead House made way for a second, now also pulled down.]

² [See *ante*, p. 27.]

³ [Dr. Anthony Horneck, 1641-97. He wrote, *inter alia*, *The Happy Ascetick*, 1681, for the sixth edition of which, 1724, Hogarth engraved a frontispiece; and he was the ancestor of Goldsmith's "Jessamy Bride."]

⁴ The full title is *The great Law of Consideration, or a Discourse wherein the nature, usefulness, and absolute necessity of Consideration, in order to a truly serious and religious life, are laid open*. It went through several editions.

⁵ [See *ante*, p. 89.]

Physicians' College, with Sir Thomas Millington,¹ both learned men ; Dr. W. the most facetious man in nature, and now Censor of the College. I was here consulted where they should build their library ; it is pity this College is built so near Newgate Prison, and in so obscure a hole,² a fault in placing most of our public buildings and churches in the City, through the avarice of some few men, and his Majesty not overruling it, when it was in his power after the dreadful conflagration.

21st March. Dr. Tenison preached at Whitehall on 1 Cor. vi. 12 ; I esteem him to be one of the most profitable preachers in the Church of England, being also of a most holy conversation, very learned and ingenious. The pains he takes and care of his parish will, I fear, wear him out, which would be an inexpressible loss.³

24th. I went to hear Dr. Charleton's lecture on the heart in the Anatomy Theatre at the Physicians' College.⁴

30th. To London, in order to my passing the following week, for the celebration of the Easter now approaching, there being in the Holy Week so many eminent preachers officiating at the Court and other places.

6th April. Good Friday. There was in the afternoon, according to custom, a sermon before the King, at Whitehall ; Dr. Sprat⁵ preached for the Bishop of Rochester.

¹ [Sir Thomas Millington, F.R.S., 1628-1704.]

² [It was in Warwick Lane, Newgate Street, and was pulled down in 1866.] The present College in Pall Mall East was opened by Sir Henry Halford in 1825.

³ [See *ante*, p. 59. He lived until 1715.]

⁴ Dr. Walter Charleton, 1619-1707, was with Charles II. during his exile, in the capacity of physician, and returned with him at the Restoration. He wrote on natural history, antiquities, theology, medicine, and natural philosophy.

⁵ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 300.]

17th April. I was at the launching of the last of the thirty ships ordered to be new built by Act of Parliament, named the *Neptune*, a second-rate, one of the goodliest vessels of the whole navy, built by my kind neighbour, young Mr. Shish,¹ his Majesty's master-shipwright of this dock.

1st May. I went to Blackheath, to see the new fair, being the first procured by the Lord Dartmouth.² This was the first day, pretended for the sale of cattle, but I think in truth to enrich the new tavern at the bowling-green, erected by Snape,³ his Majesty's farrier, a man full of projects. There appeared nothing but an innumerable assembly of drinking people from London, pedlars, etc., and I suppose it too near London to be of any great use to the country.⁴

March was unusually hot and dry, and all April excessively wet.

I planted all the out-limits of the garden and long walks with holly.⁵

9th. Dined at Sir Gabriel Sylvius's,⁶ and thence to visit the Duke of Norfolk, to ask whether he would part with any of his cartoons and other drawings of Raphael, and the great masters; he

¹ [Perhaps John Shish, *d.* 1686, Jonas Shish's eldest son. See *ante*, p. 47, for account of Shish the elder.]

² [George Legge, first Baron Dartmouth, 1648-91; Master of the Trinity House, 1683; Admiral and Commander of the Fleet, 1688-89.]

³ Granger mentions a print of this person by White, and says he was father of Dr. Snape, of Eton; members of the same family had been serjeant-farriers to the Sovereign for three hundred years.

⁴ [It "lasted as a 'hog' and pleasure fair, being held on May 12 and October 11, till 1872, when it was suppressed by an Order signed by the Home Secretary" (Thorne's *Environs of London*, 1876, p. 48).]

⁵ Evelyn adds a note: "400 feet in length, 9 feet high, 5 in diameter, in my now ruined garden, thanks to the Czar of Muscovy."—*Sylva*, book ii. chap. vi.

⁶ [See *ante*, p. 11.]

told me if he might sell them all together he would, but that the late Sir Peter Lely (our famous painter) had gotten some of his best. The person who desired me to treat for them was Vander Douse, grandson to that great scholar, contemporary and friend of Joseph Scaliger.

16th May. Came to dinner and visit [me] Sir Richard Anderson,¹ of Pendley, and his lady, with whom I went to London.

8th June. On my return home from the Royal Society, I found Mr. Wilbraham, a young gentleman of Cheshire.

11th. The Lord Dartmouth was elected Master of the Trinity House; son to George Legge,² late Master of the Ordnance, and one of the Grooms of the Bedchamber; a great favourite of the Duke's, an active and understanding gentleman in sea-affairs.

18th. To our Society, where we received the Count de Zinzendorp, Ambassador from the Duke of Saxony, a fine young man: we showed him divers experiments on the magnet, on which subject the Society were upon.

16th. I went to Windsor, dining by the way at Chiswick,³ at Sir Stephen Fox's, where I found Sir Robert Howard⁴ (that universal pretender), and Signor Verrio, who brought his draught and designs for the painting of the staircase of Sir Stephen's new house.

That which was new at Windsor since I was last there, and was surprising to me, was the incomparable fresco painting in St. George's Hall, representing the legend of St. George, and triumph of the Black Prince, and his reception by Edward

¹ [See *ante*, p. 59.]

² [William Legge, 1609-70; Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, 1660.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 87.]

⁴ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 197.]

III. ; the *volto*, or roof, not totally finished ; then the Resurrection in the Chapel, where the figure of the Ascension is, in my opinion, comparable to any paintings of the most famous Roman masters ; the Last Supper, also over the altar. I liked the contrivance of the unseen organ behind the altar, nor less the stupendous and beyond all description the incomparable carving of our Gibbons, who is, without controversy, the greatest master both for invention and rareness of work, that the world ever had in any age ; nor doubt I at all that he will prove as great a master in the statuary art.

Verrio's invention is admirable, his *ordonnance*¹ full and flowing, antique and heroical ; his figures move ; and, if the walls hold (which is the only doubt by reason of the salts which in time and in this moist climate prejudice), the work will preserve his name to ages.²

There was now the terrace brought almost round the old Castle ; the grass made clean, even, and curiously turfed ; the avenues to the new park, and other walks, planted with elms and limes, and a pretty canal, and receptacle for fowl ; nor less observable and famous is the throwing so huge a quantity of excellent water to the enormous height of the Castle, for the use of the whole house, by an extraordinary invention of Sir Samuel Morland.³

17th June. I dined at the Earl of Sunderland's with the Earls of Bath, Castlehaven, Lords Viscounts Fauconberg, Falkland,⁴ Bishop of London,⁵ the Grand Master of Malta, brother to

¹ [*Ordonnance* in painting = general disposition of parts.]

² [For these works, which occupied several years, Verrio received nearly £7000. He also acted as Master Gardener.]

³ See *ante*, p. 71.

⁴ [See *post*, under 30th May, 1694.]

⁵ [Dr. Compton (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 299).]

the Duke de Vendôme (a young wild spark),¹ and Mr. Dryden, the poet.² After evening prayer, I walked in the park with my Lord Clarendon, where we fell into discourse of the Bishop of Salisbury (Dr. Seth Ward),³ his subtlety, etc. Dr. Durel,⁴ late Dean of Windsor, being dead, Dr. Turner,⁵ one of the Duke's chaplains, was made dean.

I visited my Lady Arlington, Groom of the Stole to her Majesty,⁶ who being hardly set down to supper, word was brought her that the Queen was going into the park to walk, it being now near eleven at night; the alarm caused the Countess to rise in all haste, and leave her supper to us.

By this one may take an estimate of the extreme slavery and subjection that courtiers live in, who have not time to eat and drink at their pleasure. It put me in mind of Horace's *Mouse*,⁷ and to bless God for my own private condition.

Here was Monsieur de l'Angle, the famous minister of Charenton, lately fled from the persecution in France, concerning the deplorable condition of the Protestants there.

18th June. I was present, and saw and heard the humble submission and petition of the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, on behalf of the City of London, on the *quo warranto* against their charter, which they delivered to his Majesty in the

¹ [Philippe de Vendôme, 1655-1727, second son of the Duke de Vendôme and Laure Mancini, sister of the Duchess Mazarin. He was "grand prieur" de France. The Duchess of Portsmouth took a fancy to him; and Charles II. hurried him out of the country (Airy, *Charles II.*, 1901, p. 271).]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 367. He was made Collector of Customs for the port of London in this year.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 76.]

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 28.]

⁵ [Dr. Francis Turner, 1638-1700, afterwards Bishop of Rochester (see *post*, under 30th March, 1684).]

⁶ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 357.]

⁷ [The tale told by Cervius, *Satires*, Book ii. Sat. vi.]

presence-chamber. It was delivered kneeling, and then the King and Council went into the council-chamber, the Mayor and his brethren attending still in the presence-chamber. After a short space, they were called in, and my Lord Keeper made a speech to them, exaggerating the disorderly and riotous behaviour in the late election, and polling for Papillon and Du Bois after the Common-hall had been formally dissolved; with other misdemeanours, libels on the government, etc., by which they had incurred his Majesty's high displeasure; and that but for this submission, and under such articles as the King should require their obedience to, he would certainly enter judgment against them, which hitherto he had suspended. The things required were as follows: that they should neither elect Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, Recorder, Common Serjeant, Town-Clerk, Coroner, nor Steward of Southwark, without his Majesty's approbation; and that if they presented any his Majesty did not like, they should proceed in wonted manner to a second choice; if that was disapproved, his Majesty to nominate them; and if within five days they thought good to assent to this, all former miscarriages should be forgotten. And so they tamely parted with their so ancient privileges after they had dined and been treated by the King. This was a signal and most remarkable period. What the consequences will prove, time will show. Divers of the old and most learned lawyers and judges were of opinion that they could not forfeit their charter, but might be personally punished for their misdemeanours; but the plurality of the younger judges and rising men judged it otherwise.

The Popish Plot also, which had hitherto made such a noise, began now sensibly to dwindle, through the folly, knavery, impudence, and giddi-

ness of Oates, so as the Papists began to hold up their heads higher than ever, and those who had fled, flocked to London from abroad. Such sudden changes and eager doings there had been, without anything steady or prudent, for these last seven years.

19th June. I returned to town in a coach with the Earl of Clarendon,¹ when passing by the glorious palace of his father,² built but a few years before, which they were now demolishing, being sold to certain undertakers, I turned my head the contrary way till the coach had gone past it, lest I might minister occasion of speaking of it; which must needs have grieved him, that in so short a time their pomp was fallen.

28th. After the Popish Plot, there was now a new and (as they called it) a Protestant Plot discovered,³ that certain Lords and others should

¹ [See *ante*, p. 87.]

² [It had been sold by Clarendon's sons to Christopher Monck, the second and last Duke of Albemarle, for £26,000, having cost £40,000. At this date it was called Albemarle House. Albemarle sold it for £35,000 to Sir Thomas Bond, who pulled it down, and built Bond Street and Albemarle Buildings on its site (see *post*, under 18th September, 1683).]

³ [The Rye House Plot, so called from the house on the Lea near Hoddesdon in Herts (then occupied by the conspirator Richard Rumbold), which was to have been the scene of the assassination—"a place so convenient for such a villany as scarce to be found in England," writes Bramston; "besides the closeness of the way over the river by a bridge, gates to pass, a strong hedge on one side, brick walls on the other" (*Autobiography*, 1845, p. 182). Reresby adds some details to Evelyn's account. "June 26. Came the report of a dangerous conspiracy against the life of our sovereign lord the King, laid by the anti-Court party, composed of such as had been disappointed of preferments at Court, and of Protestant dissenters. It was also against the Duke of York, and intended to have shot the King and the Duke coming from Newmarket in their coach, the certain day of his return being known, by forty men well armed, who, after the blow given, were to fly to London, and to report that the papists had done it. In London there was a body of men ready to rise,



RYE HOUSE, HERTS

design the assassination of the King and the Duke as they were to come from Newmarket, with a general rising of the nation, and especially of the City of London, disaffected to the present Government. Upon which were committed to the Tower, the Lord Russell, eldest son of the Earl of Bedford,¹ the Earl of Essex,² Mr. Algernon Sidney, son to the old Earl of Leicester,³ Mr. Trenchard, Hampden, Lord Howard of Escrick,⁴ and others. A proclamation was issued against my Lord Grey,⁵ the Duke of Monmouth, Sir Thomas Armstrong,⁶ and one Ferguson,⁷ who had escaped beyond sea; of these some were said to be for killing the King, others for only seizing on him, and persuading him to new counsels, on the pretence of the danger of Popery, should the Duke live to succeed, who was now again admitted to the councils and cabinet secrets. The Lords Essex and Russell were much deplored, for believing they had any evil intention against the King, or the Church; some thought they were cunningly drawn in by their enemies for not approving some late counsels

to make themselves masters of the City and Tower, and consequently of the whole kingdom—the Prince of Orange being in Holland (the next right heir to the Crown), and the Duke of Monmouth being ready to head the rebels” (*Memoirs*, 1875, pp. 279-80). The Rye House is now a place of entertainment.]

¹ [William Lord Russell, 1639-83, afterwards executed at Lincoln's Inn Fields (July 21). He was not charged with compassing the King's death; and his attainder was reversed on the accession of William and Mary.]

² [See *ante*, p. 44.]

³ [Algernon Sidney, 1622-83, executed on Tower Hill (see *post*, under 5th December, 1683).]

⁴ [William Howard, third Baron Howard of Escrick, 1626-94, who betrayed Russell and Sidney.]

⁵ [Forde Grey, third Baron Grey of Werk, and afterwards Earl of Tankerville, 1620-89. He had fled to Holland.]

⁶ [Sir Thomas Armstrong, 1624-84, executed at Tyburn (see *post*, under 22nd June, 1684).]

⁷ [Robert Ferguson (the “Plotter”), *d.* 1714.]

and management relating to France, to Popery, to the persecution of the Dissenters, etc. They were discovered by the Lord Howard of Escrick and some false brethren of the club, and the design happily broken; had it taken effect, it would, to all appearance, have exposed the Government to unknown and dangerous events; which God avert!

Was born my grand-daughter at Sayes Court, and christened by the name of Martha Maria,¹ our Vicar officiating. I pray God bless her, and may she choose the better part!

18th July. As I was visiting Sir Thomas Yarborough and his lady² in Covent Garden, the astonishing news was brought to us of the Earl of Essex having cut his throat, having been but three days a prisoner in the Tower, and this happening on the very day and instant that Lord Russell was on his trial, and had sentence of death. This accident exceedingly amazed me, my Lord Essex being so well known by me to be a person of such sober and religious deportment, so well at his ease, and so much obliged to the King. It is certain the King and Duke were at the Tower, and passed by his window about the same time this morning, when my Lord asking for a razor, shut himself into a closet, and perpetrated the horrid act. Yet it was wondered by some how it was possible he should do it in the manner he was found, for the wound was so deep and wide, that being cut through the gullet, wind-pipe, and both the jugulars, it reached to the very vertebræ of the neck, so that the head held to it by a very little skin as it were; the gapping too of the razor, and cutting his own fingers, was a little strange; but

¹ [See *post*, under 28th August, 1683.]

² The lady was Mary Blagge, of whom Anthony Hamilton says so much in his seventh chapter; and sister of Margaret Blagge, of whom Evelyn writes so often.

more, that having passed the jugulars he should have strength to proceed so far, that an executioner could hardly have done more with an axe. There were odd reflections upon it.¹

The fatal news coming to Hicks's Hall² upon the article of my Lord Russell's trial, was said to have had no little influence on the Jury and all the Bench to his prejudice. Others said that he had himself on some occasions hinted that in case he should be in danger of having his life taken from him by any public misfortune, those who thirsted for his estate should miss of their aim; and that he should speak favourably of that Earl of Northumberland,³ and some others, who made away with themselves; but these are discourses so unlike his sober and prudent conversation, that I have no inclination to credit them. What might instigate him to this devilish act, I am not able to conjecture. My Lord Clarendon, his brother-in-law, who was with him but the day before, assured me he was then very cheerful, and declared it to be the effect of his innocence and loyalty; and most believe that his Majesty had no severe intentions against him, though he was altogether inexorable as to Lord Russell and some of the rest. For my part, I believe the crafty and ambitious Earl of Shaftesbury⁴ had brought them into some dislike of the present carriage of matters at Court, not with any design of destroying the monarchy

¹ Bishop Burnet, after making inquiry, by desire of the Countess, declares that he does not believe that Essex was murdered (*History of His Own Times*, 1724, vol. i. pp. 569-70).

² [The Sessions House of the County of Middlesex, in St. John's Street, Clerkenwell. Here Russell was condemned to death; and Königsmarck acquitted (see *ante*, p. 73).]

³ Henry Percy, 1582-85, eighth Earl of Northumberland, the great-grandfather of Essex's wife, had shot himself in the Tower, to which he had been committed on a charge of high treason.

⁴ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 292.]

(which Shaftesbury had in confidence and for unanswerable reasons told me he would support to his last breath, as having seen and felt the misery of being under mechanic tyranny), but perhaps of setting up some other whom he might govern, and frame to his own platonic fancy, without much regard to the religion established under the hierarchy, for which he had no esteem; but when he perceived those whom he had engaged to rise, fail of his expectations, and the day past, reproaching his accomplices that a second day for an exploit of this nature was never successful, he gave them the slip, and got into Holland, where the fox died,¹ three months before these unhappy Lords and others were discovered or suspected. Every one deplored Essex and Russell, especially the last, as being thought to have been drawn in on pretence only of endeavouring to rescue the King from his present counsellors, and secure religion from Popery, and the nation from arbitrary government, now so much apprehended; whilst the rest of those who were fled, especially Ferguson and his gang, had doubtless some bloody design to get up a Commonwealth, and turn all things topsy-turvy. Of the same tragical principles is Sidney.

I had this day much discourse with Monsieur Pontac, son to the famous and wise prime President of Bordeaux.² This gentleman was owner of that excellent vignoble of Pontac and O'Brien, from whence come the choicest of our Bordeaux wines; and I think I may truly say of him, what was not so truly said of St. Paul, that

¹ [22nd January, 1683.]

² Arnaud de Pontac. The son's eating-house was in Abchurch Lane, City. "We all dined at Pontac's as usual"—says Evelyn, 30th November, 1693, referring to the Royal Society. They continued to dine there till 1746. Swift mentions this popular resort.

much learning had made him mad. He had studied well in philosophy, but chiefly the Rabbins, and was exceedingly addicted to cabalistical fancies, an eternal *hablador* [romancer], and half distracted by reading abundance of the extravagant Eastern Jews. He spoke all languages, was very rich, had a handsome person, and was well-bred, about forty-five years of age.

14th July. I visited Mr. Fraser, a learned Scots gentleman, whom I had formerly recommended to Lord Berkeley for the instruction and government of his son, since dead at sea.¹ He had now been in Holland at the sale of the learned Heinsius's library,² and showed me some very rare and curious books, and some MSS., which he had purchased to good value. There were three or four Herbals in miniature, accurately done, divers Roman antiquities of Verona, and very many books of Aldus's impression.

15th. A stranger, and old man, preached on Jerem. vi. 8, the not hearkening to instruction, portentous of desolation to a people; much after Bishop Andrews's method, full of logical divisions, in short and broken periods, and Latin sentences, now quite out of fashion in the pulpit, which is grown into a far more profitable way, of plain and practical discourses, of which sort this nation, or any other, never had greater plenty or more profitable (I am confident); so much has it to answer for thriving no better on it.

The public was now in great consternation on the late plot and conspiracy; his Majesty very melancholy, and not stirring without double guards; all the avenues and private doors about Whitehall and the Park shut up, few admitted to walk in it. The Papists, in the meantime, very jocund; and indeed with reason, seeing their own

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 108.]

² [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 41.]

plot brought to nothing, and turned to ridicule, and now a conspiracy of Protestants, as they called them.

The Turks were likewise in hostility against the German Emperor, almost masters of the Upper Hungary, and drawing towards Vienna. On the other side, the French King (who it is believed brought in the infidels) disturbing his Spanish and Dutch neighbours, having swallowed up almost all Flanders, pursuing his ambition of a fifth universal monarchy; and all this blood and disorder in Christendom had evidently its rise from our defections at home, in a wanton peace, minding nothing but luxury, ambition, and to procure money for our vices. To this add our irreligion and atheism, great ingratitude, and self-interest; the apostasy of some, and the suffering the French to grow so great, and the Hollanders so weak. In a word, we were wanton, mad, and surfeiting with prosperity; every moment unsettling the old foundations, and never constant to anything. The Lord in mercy avert the sad omen, and that we do not provoke Him till He bear it no longer!

This summer did we suffer twenty French men-of-war to pass our Channel towards the Sound, to help the Danes against the Swedes, who had abandoned the French interest; we not having ready sufficient to guard our coasts, or take cognizance of what they did; though the nation never had more, or a better navy, yet the sea had never so slender a fleet.

19th July. George, Prince of Denmark,¹ who had landed this day, came to marry the Lady Anne,² daughter to the Duke; so I returned home, having seen the young gallant at dinner at Whitehall.

20th. Several of the conspirators of the lower form were executed at Tyburn; and the next day,

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 196.] ² [Afterwards Queen Anne.]

21st July. Lord Russell was beheaded in Lincoln's Inn Fields, the executioner giving him three butcherly strokes. The speech he made, and the paper which he gave the Sheriff declaring his innocence, the nobleness of the family, the piety and worthiness of the unhappy gentleman, wrought much pity, and occasioned various discourses on the plot.

25th. I again saw Prince George of Denmark :¹ he had the Danish countenance, blonde, of few words, spoke French but ill, seemed somewhat heavy, but reported to be valiant, and indeed he had bravely rescued and brought off his brother, the King of Denmark, in a battle against the Swedes, when both these Kings were engaged very smartly.

28th. He was married to the Lady Anne at Whitehall. Her court and household to be modelled as the Duke's, her father, had been; and they to continue in England.

1st August. Came to see me Mr. Flamsteed, the famous astronomer,² from his Observatory at Greenwich, to draw the meridian from my pendule, etc.

2nd. The Countesses of Bristol and Sunderland, aunt and cousin-german of the late Lord Russell, came to visit me, and condole his sad fate. The next day, came Colonel Russell, uncle to the late Lord Russell, and brother to the Earl of Bedford, and with him Mrs. Myddleton, that famous and indeed incomparable beauty,³ daughter to my relation, Sir Robert Needham.

19th. I went to Bromley to visit our Bishop,⁴

¹ [See *ante*, p. 106.]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 394.]

³ [Jane Needham, 1645-92, married to Charles Myddleton in 1660. The Duke of York, Grammont, and Waller were among her many admirers, and she bade fair at one time to rival the Duchess of Cleveland.]

⁴ [Of Rochester. Dr. John Dolben was Archbishop of York, 1683-86.]

and excellent neighbour, and to congratulate his now being made Archbishop of York. On the 28th, he came to take his leave of us, now preparing for his journey and residence in his province.

28th August. My sweet little grandchild, Martha Maria, died, and on the 29th was buried in the parish church.¹

2nd September. This morning, was read in the church, after the Office was done, the Declaration setting forth the late conspiracy against the King's person.

3rd. I went to see what had been done by the Duke of Beaufort on his late purchased house at Chelsea,² which I once had the selling of for the Countess of Bristol; he had made great alterations, but might have built a better house with the materials and the cost he had been at.

Saw the Countess of Monte Feltre, whose husband I had formerly known; he was a subject of the Pope's, but becoming a Protestant he resided in England, and married into the family of the Savilles, of Yorkshire. The Count, her late husband, was a very learned gentleman, a great politician, and a goodly man. She was accompanied by her sister, exceedingly skilled in painting, nor did they spare for colour on their own faces.³ They had a great deal of wit.

9th. It being the day of public thanksgiving for his Majesty's late preservation, the former declaration was again read, and there was an Office used, composed for the occasion. A loyal sermon was preached on the divine right of Kings, from Psalm cxliv. 10. "Thou hast preserved David from the peril of the sword."

15th. Came to visit me the learned anatomist,

¹ [See *ante*, p. 102.]

² [See *ante*, p. 27.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 72.]

Dr. Tyson,¹ with some other Fellows of our Society.

16th September. At the elegant villa and garden of Mr. Bohun, at Lee.² He showed me the zinnar tree, or platanus, and told me that since they had planted this kind of tree about the city of Ispahan, in Persia, the plague, which formerly much infested the place, had exceedingly abated of its mortal effects, and rendered it very healthy.

18th. I went to London, to visit the Duchess of Grafton, now great with child, a most virtuous and beautiful lady.³ Dining with her at my Lord Chamberlain's, met my Lord of St. Albans,⁴ now grown so blind, that he could not see to take his meat. He has lived a most easy life, in plenty even abroad, whilst his Majesty was a sufferer; he has lost immense sums at play, which yet, at about eighty years old, he continues, having one that sits by him to name the spots on the cards. He eat and drank with extraordinary appetite. He is a prudent old courtier, and much enriched since his Majesty's return.

After dinner, I walked to survey the sad demolition of Clarendon House, that costly and only sumptuous palace of the late Lord Chancellor Hyde, where I have often been so cheerful with him, and sometimes so sad:⁵ happening to make him a visit but the day before he fled from the angry Parliament,⁶ accusing him of mal-administration, and being envious at his grandeur, who from a private lawyer came to be father-in-law to

¹ Doctor Edward Tyson, 1650-1708, anatomical lecturer in Surgeons' Hall, and physician to Bethlehem and Bridewell hospitals. He published *The Anatomy of a Porpoise dissected at Gresham College*, and *The Anatomy of a Pigmy compared with a Monkey, an Ape, and a Man*, 4to, 1698-99.

² [See *ante*, p. 86.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 38.]

⁴ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 149.]

⁵ [See *ante*, p. 100.]

⁶ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 284.]

the Duke of York, and as some would suggest, designing his Majesty's marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, not apt to breed. To this they imputed much of our unhappiness; and that he, being sole minister and favourite at his Majesty's restoration, neglected to gratify the King's suffering party, preferring those who were the cause of our troubles. But perhaps as many of these things were injuriously laid to his charge, so he kept the government far steadier than it has proved since. I could name some who I think contributed greatly to his ruin,—the buffoons and the *misses*, to whom he was an eye-sore. It is true he was of a jolly temper, after the old English fashion; but France had now the ascendant, and we were become quite another nation. The Chancellor gone, and dying in exile, the Earl his successor sold that which cost £50,000 building, to the young Duke of Albemarle for £25,000, to pay debts which how contracted remains yet a mystery, his son being no way a prodigal. Some imagine the Duchess his daughter had been chargeable to him. However it were, this stately palace is decreed to ruin, to support the prodigious waste the Duke of Albemarle had made of his estate, since the old man died. He sold it to the highest bidder, and it fell to certain rich bankers and mechanics, who gave for it and the ground¹ about it, £35,000; they design a new town, as it were, and a most magnificent piazza [square]. It is said they have already materials towards it with what they sold of the house alone, more worth than what they paid for it. See the vicissitudes of earthly things! I was astonished at this demolition, nor less at the little army of labourers and artificers levelling the ground, laying foundations, and contriving great buildings

¹ [According to the Rate-Books of St. Martin's there were, in 1688, 24 acres of land attached to the house.]

at an expense of £200,000, if they perfect their design.¹

19th September. In my walks I stepped into a goldbeater's workhouse, where he showed me the wonderful ductility of that spreading and oily metal. He said it must be finer than the standard, such as was old angel-gold, and that of such he had once to the value of £100 stamped with the *agnus dei*, and coined at the time of the holy war; which had been found in a ruined wall somewhere in the north, near to Scotland, some of which he beat into leaves, and the rest sold to the *curiosi* in antiquities and medals.

23rd. We had now the welcome tidings of the King of Poland raising the siege of Vienna, which had given terror to all Europe, and utmost reproach to the French, who it is believed brought in the Turks for diversion, that the French King might the more easily swallow Flanders, and pursue his unjust conquest on the empire, whilst we sat

¹ In a letter to Lord Cornbury, dated Sayes Court, 20th January, 1665-66, Evelyn, having then just returned from a visit to Clarendon House, says: "I went with prejudice and a critical spirit, incident to those who fancy they know anything in art; I acknowledge that I have never seene a nobler pile. My old friend [Pratt, the architect, see vol. ii. p. 102] and fellow-traveller (inhabitants and co-temporaries at Rome) has perfectly acquitted himself. It is, without hyperbole, the best contrived, the most usefull, gracefull, and magnificent house in England; I except not Audley End, which, though larger and full of gaudy barbarous ornaments, does not gratifie judicious spectators. Here is state and use, solidity and beauty, most symmetrically combined together. Nothing abroad pleases me better, nothing at home approaches it. I have no designe to gratifie the architect beyond what I am obliged as a professed honorer of virtue wheresoever 'tis conspicuous; but when I had seriously contemplated every roome (for I went into 'em all, from the cellar to the platforme on the rooffe), seene how well and judiciously the walls were erected, the arches cut and turn'd, the timber brac'd, their scantlings and contignations disposed, I was most highly satisfied, and do acknowledge myselfe to have much improv'd by what I observ'd."

unconcerned and under a deadly charm from somebody.¹

There was this day a collection for rebuilding Newmarket, consumed by an accidental fire, which removing his Majesty thence sooner than was intended, put by the assassins, who were disappointed of their rendezvous and expectation by a wonderful providence.² This made the King more earnest to render Winchester the seat of his autumnal field-diversions for the future, designing a palace there,³ where the ancient castle stood; infinitely indeed preferable to Newmarket for prospects, air, pleasure, and provisions. The surveyor has already begun the foundation for a palace, estimated to cost £35,000, and his Majesty is purchasing ground about it to make a park, etc.

4th October. I went to London, on receiving a note from the Countess of Arlington, of some considerable charge or advantage I might obtain by applying myself to his Majesty on this signal conjuncture of his Majesty entering-up judgment against the City-charter; the proposal made me I wholly declined, not being well satisfied with these violent transactions, and not a little sorry that his Majesty was so often put upon things of this nature

¹ [See *ante*, p. 106. The siege of Vienna was raised by John Sobieski, who defeated a Turkish army, 100,000 strong, 12th September, 1683.]

² [See *ante*, p. 101. "He was saved only by the accident of the fire; . . . which destroyed his palace there [at Newmarket] and thus caused him to go back to London a few days earlier than was expected" (Airy's *Charles II.*, 1901, p. 265).]

³ [On the site of Winchester Castle. It was planned by Wren after the model of Versailles, and begun in March of this year. Part only was finished at Charles's death; and this part was turned into a barracks in 1796, and burned down in 1894. The King talked of the building in his last days; and, according to Airy's *Charles II.*, 1901, p. 261, £90,000 found in the strong-box after his death, was supposed to be destined for it (see *post*, under 16th September, 1685).]



The Duchess of Portsmouth

against so great a City, the consequence whereof may be so much to his prejudice; so I returned home. At this time, the Lord Chief-Justice Pemberton was displaced.¹ He was held to be the most learned of the judges, and an honest man. Sir George Jeffreys² was advanced, reputed to be most ignorant, but most daring. Sir George Treby,³ Recorder of London, was also put by, and one Jenner,⁴ an obscure lawyer, set in his place. Eight of the richest and chief aldermen were removed, and all the rest made only justices of the peace, and no more wearing of gowns, or chains of gold; the Lord Mayor and two Sheriffs holding their places by new grants as *custodes*, at the King's pleasure. The pomp and grandeur of the most august City in the world thus changed face in a moment; which gave great occasion of discourse and thoughts of hearts, what all this would end in. Prudent men were for the old foundations.

Following his Majesty this morning through the gallery, I went with the few who attended him, into the Duchess of Portsmouth's *dressing-room* within her bedchamber, where she was in her morning loose garment, her maids combing her, newly out of her bed, his Majesty and the gallants standing about her; but that which engaged my curiosity was the rich and splendid furniture of this woman's apartment,⁵ now twice or thrice pulled down and rebuilt to satisfy her prodigal and expensive pleasures, whilst her Majesty's does not

¹ [Sir Francis Pemberton, 1625-97. He was displaced for want of zeal against Lord Russell.]

² [George Jeffreys, first Baron Jeffreys of Wem, 1648-89, who had been active in prosecuting Lord Russell. Airy (*Charles II.*, 1901, p. 223) calls him "the wickedest man in English History"—Oates only excepted.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 61.]

⁴ [Sir Thomas Jenner, 1637-1707.]

⁵ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 385.]

exceed some gentlemen's ladies in furniture and accommodation. Here I saw the new fabric of French tapestry, for design, tenderness of work, and incomparable imitation of the best paintings, beyond anything I had ever beheld. Some pieces had Versailles, St. Germain, and other palaces of the French King, with huntings, figures, and landscapes, exotic fowls, and all to the life rarely done. Then for Japan cabinets, screens, pendule clocks, great vases of wrought plate, tables, stands, chimney-furniture, sconces, branches, braseras,¹ etc., all of massy silver and out of number, besides some of her Majesty's best paintings.

Surfeiting of this, I dined at Sir Stephen Fox's² and went contented home to my poor, but quiet villa. What contentment can there be in the riches and splendour of this world, purchased with vice and dishonour?

10th October. Visited the Duchess of Grafton,³ not yet brought to bed, and dining with my Lord Chamberlain (her father), went with them to see Montagu House,⁴ a palace lately built by Lord Montagu, who had married the most beautiful Countess of Northumberland.⁵ It is a stately and ample palace. Signor Verrio's fresco paintings, especially the funeral pile of Dido, on the staircase, the labours of Hercules, fight with the Centaurs, his effeminacy with Dejanira, and Apotheosis or reception among the Gods, on the walls and roof of the great room above,—I think exceeds any-

¹ *Brasiere* :—"a large vessel, or moving-hearth of silver, for coals, transportable into any room, much used in Spain" (Evelyn's *Fop-Dictionary*, 1690).

² [See *ante*, p. 86.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 109.]

⁴ See *ante*, p. 38, and *post*, under 19th January, 1686.

⁵ See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 391. He succeeded as Baron Montagu in 1684. His wife was Lady Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Wriothsley, Earl of Southampton, widow of Josceline Percy, the eleventh and last Earl of Northumberland (of that family).

thing he has yet done, both for design, colouring, and exuberance of invention, comparable to the greatest of the old masters, or what they so celebrate at Rome. In the rest of the chamber are some excellent paintings of Holbein, and other masters. The garden is large, and in good air, but the fronts of the house not answerable to the inside. The court at entry, and wings for offices seem too near the street, and that so very narrow and meanly built, that the corridor is not in proportion to the rest, to hide the court from being overlooked by neighbours; all which might have been prevented, had they placed the house further into the ground, of which there was enough to spare. But on the whole it is a fine palace, built after the French pavilion-way, by Mr. Hooke, the Curator of the Royal Society. There were with us my Lady Scroope, the great wit, and Monsieur Chardin,¹ the celebrated traveller.

13th October. Came to visit me my old and worthy friend, Mr. Packer,² bringing with him his nephew Berkeley, grandson to the honest judge. A most ingenious, virtuous, and religious gentleman, seated near Worcester,³ and very curious in gardening.

17th. I was at the court-leet of this manor,⁴ my Lord Arlington his Majesty's High-Steward.

26th. Came to visit and dine with me, Mr. Brisbane,⁵ Secretary to the Admiralty, a learned and agreeable man.

30th. I went to Kew to visit Sir Henry Capel, brother to the late Earl of Essex;⁶ but he being gone to Cashiobury, after I had seen his garden⁷ and the alterations therein, I returned home. He

¹ [See *ante*, p. 52.]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 61.]

³ [At Groomsbridge.]

⁴ The manor of Deptford-le-Strond, *alias* West Greenwich.

⁵ [See *ante*, p. 67.]

⁶ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 272.]

⁷ *Archæologia*, vol. xii. p. 185.

had repaired his house, roofed his hall with a kind of cupola, and in a niche was an artificial fountain; but the room seems to me over-melancholy, yet might be much improved by having the walls well painted *à fresco*. The two green-houses for oranges and myrtles communicating with the rooms below, are very well contrived. There is a cupola made with pole-work between two elms at the end of a walk, which being covered by plashing¹ the trees to them, is very pretty; for the rest there are too many fir trees in the garden.

17th November. I took a house in Villiers Street, York Buildings, for the winter, having many important concerns to dispatch, and for the education of my daughters.

23rd. The Duke of Monmouth, till now proclaimed traitor on the pretended plot for which Lord Russell was lately beheaded, came this evening to Whitehall and rendered himself, on which were various discourses.

26th. I went to compliment the Duchess of Grafton, now lying-in of her first child, a son,² which she called for, that I might see it. She was become more beautiful, if it were possible, than before, and full of virtue and sweetness. She discoursed with me of many particulars, with great prudence and gravity beyond her years.

29th. Mr. Forbes showed me the plot of the garden making at Burghley,³ at my Lord Exeter's, which I looked on as one of the most noble that I had seen.

¹ [Plaiting.]

² Charles, who succeeded his father, mortally wounded in 1690 at the siege of Cork. This son was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Chamberlain, Privy Councillor, K.G., etc., in the reigns of Anne, George I., and George II. There is a fine whole-length mezzotinto of him by Faber.

³ [Burghley House, on the Welland, near Stamford—the “Burleigh-house by Stamford-town” of Tennyson's poem.]

'The whole court and town in solemn mourning for the death of the King of Portugal, her Majesty's brother.¹

30th November. At the anniversary dinner of the Royal Society the King sent us two does. Sir Cyril Wyche² was elected President.

5th December. I was this day invited to a wedding of one Mrs. Castle, to whom I had some obligation, and it was to her fifth husband, a Lieutenant-Colonel of the City. She was the daughter of one Burton, a broom-man, by his wife, who sold kitchen-stuff in Kent Street, whom God so blessed that the father became a very rich, and was a very honest man; he was sheriff of Surrey,³ where I have sat on the bench with him. Another of his daughters was married to Sir John Bowles; and this daughter was a jolly friendly woman. There was at the wedding the Lord Mayor, the Sheriff, several Aldermen and persons of quality; above all, Sir George Jeffreys, newly made Lord Chief-Justice of England,⁴ with Mr. Justice Wythens, danced with the bride, and were exceeding merry. These great men spent the rest of the afternoon, till eleven at night, in drinking healths, taking tobacco, and talking much beneath the gravity of Judges, who had but a day or two before condemned Mr. Algernon Sidney,⁵ who was executed the 7th on Tower-Hill, on the single witness of that monster of a man, Lord Howard of Escrick, and some sheets of paper taken in Mr. Sidney's study, pretended to be written by him, but not fully proved, nor the time when, but appearing to have been written before his Majesty's restoration, and then pardoned by the Act of

¹ [Alphonso VI., d. 12th September, 1683.]

² [Sir Cyril Wyche, 1632-1707. He married Evelyn's niece (see under 15th May, 1692).]

³ In 1673.

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 113.]

⁵ [See *ante*, p. 101.]

Oblivion; so that though Mr. Sidney was known to be a person obstinately averse to government by a monarch (the subject of the paper was in answer to one by Sir E. Filmer), yet it was thought he had very hard measure. There is this yet observable, that he had been an inveterate enemy to the last king, and in actual rebellion against him; a man of great courage, great sense, great parts, which he showed both at his trial and death; for, when he came on the scaffold, instead of a speech, he told them only that he had made his peace with God, that he came not thither to talk, but to die; put a paper into the sheriff's hand, and another into a friend's; said one prayer as short as a grace, laid down his neck, and bid the executioner do his office.

The Duke of Monmouth, now having his pardon, refuses to acknowledge there was any treasonable plot; for which he is banished Whitehall. This was a great disappointment to some who had prosecuted Trenchard, Hampden, etc., that for want of a second witness were come out of the Tower upon their *habeas corpus*.

The King had now augmented his guards with a new sort of dragoons,¹ who carried also grenades, and were habited after the Polish manner, with long peaked caps, very fierce and fantastical.

7th December. I went to the Tower, and visited the Earl of Danby, the late Lord High Treasurer, who had been imprisoned four years:² he received me with great kindness. I dined with him, and stayed till night. We had discourse of many things, his Lady railing sufficiently at the keeping her husband so long in prison. Here I saluted the Lord Dunblane's wife,³ who before had been

¹ [See *ante*, p. 14.]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 31.]

³ Peregrine Osborne, Viscount Dunblane, 1658-1729, youngest son of the Earl of Danby, so created in his father's lifetime, and afterwards inheritor of his title and estate.

married to Emerton, and about whom there was that scandalous business before the delegates.

23rd December. The small-pox very prevalent and mortal; the Thames frozen.

26th. I dined at Lord Clarendon's, where I was to meet that ingenious and learned gentleman, Sir George Wheler,¹ who has published the excellent description of Africa and Greece, and who, being a knight of a very fair estate and young, had now newly entered into Holy Orders.

27th. I went to visit Sir John Chardin,² a French gentleman, who had travelled three times by land into Persia, and had made many curious researches in his travels, of which he was now setting forth a relation. It being in England this year one of the severest frosts that has happened of many years, he told me the cold in Persia was much greater, the ice of an incredible thickness; that they had little use of iron in all that country, it being so moist (though the air admirably clear and healthy) that oil would not preserve it from rusting, so that they had neither clocks nor watches; some padlocks they had for doors and boxes.

30th. Dr. Sprat,³ now made Dean of Westminster, preached to the King at Whitehall, on Matt. vi. 24. Recollecting the passages of the past year, I gave God thanks for his mercies, praying his blessing for the future.

1688-4: 1st January. The weather continuing intolerably severe, streets of booths were set upon the Thames; the air was so very cold and thick, as of many years there had not been the like. The small-pox was very mortal.

¹ [Sir George Wheler, 1650-1723. His travels took place 1673-76, and he was knighted in 1682, in which year he published his *Journey into Greece*. He became Rector of Houghton-le Spring, Durham, in 1709 (see *post*, under 24th October, 1686).]

² [See *ante*, p. 115.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 300.]

2nd January. I dined at Sir Stephen Fox's:¹ after dinner came a fellow who eat live charcoal, glowingly ignited, quenching them in his mouth, and then champing and swallowing them down. There was a dog also which seemed to do many rational actions.

6th. The river quite frozen.²

9th. I went across the Thames on the ice, now become so thick as to bear not only streets of booths, in which they roasted meat, and had divers shops of wares, quite across as in a town, but coaches, carts, and horses passed over. So I went from Westminster-stairs to Lambeth, and dined with the Archbishop:³ where I met my Lord Bruce,⁴ Sir George Wheler, Colonel Cooke, and several divines. After dinner and discourse with his Grace till evening prayers, Sir George Wheler and I walked over the ice from Lambeth-stairs to the Horse-ferry.

10th. I visited Sir Robert Reading,⁵ where after supper we had music, but not comparable to that which Mrs. Bridgeman made us on the guitar with such extraordinary skill and dexterity.

16th. The Thames was filled with people and tents, selling all sorts of wares as in the City.

24th. The frost continuing more and more severe, the Thames before London was still planted with booths in formal streets, all sorts of trades and shops furnished, and full of commodities, even to a printing-press, where the people and ladies took a fancy to have their names printed, and the day and year set down when printed on the Thames:⁶

¹ [Cf. Richardson, *ante*, vol. ii. p. 352.]

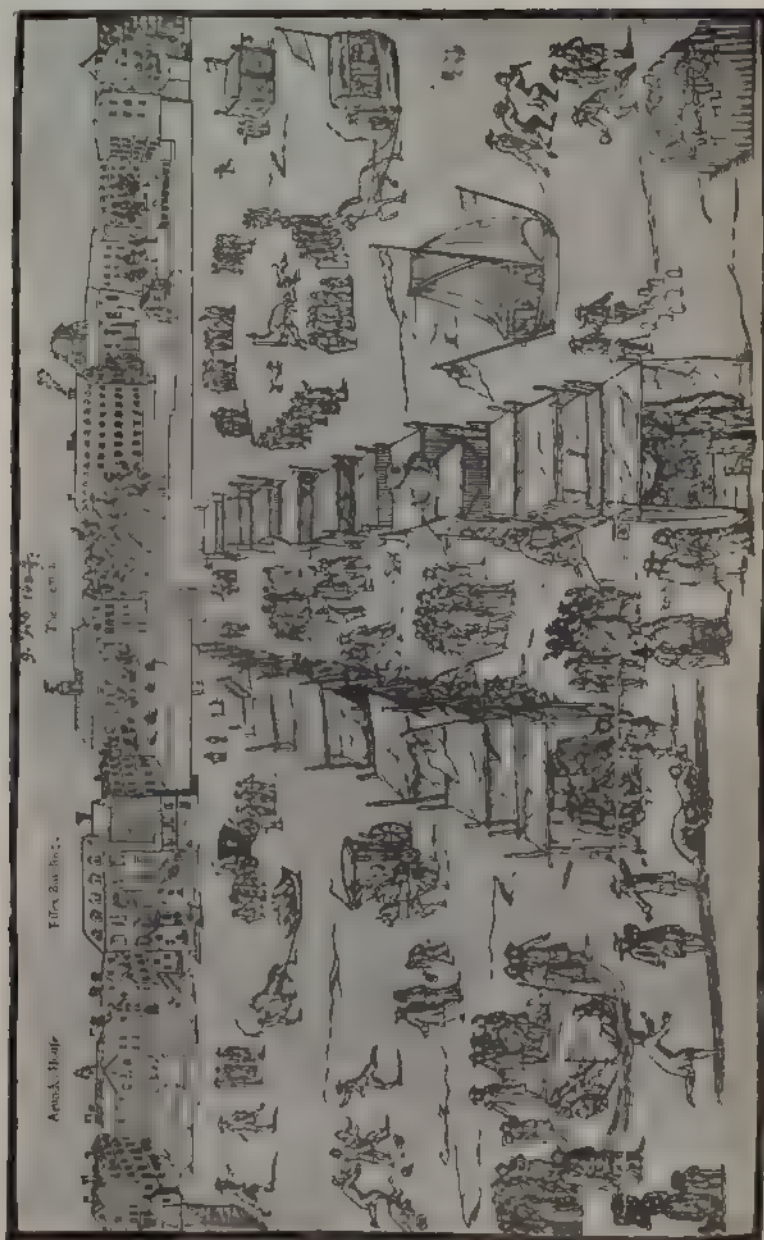
² [There are several representations of this "prodigious Frost," one of which is here reproduced.]

³ [Dr. Sancroft.]

⁴ [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 297.]

⁵ [See *ante*, p. 16.]

⁶ Bray thus describes one of these cards of Frost Fair. "Within a treble border, 'Mons' et Mad^m Justel. Printed on the River of Thames being frozen. In the 36th year of King Charles the II., February the 5th, 1683.'"



FAIR ON THE THAMES, 1683-84

this humour took so universally, that it was estimated the printer gained £5 a day, for printing a line only, at sixpence a name, besides what he got by ballads, etc. Coaches plied from Westminster to the Temple, and from several other stairs to and fro, as in the streets, sleds, sliding with skates, a bull-baiting, horse and coach races, puppet-plays and interludes, cooks, tippling, and other lewd places, so that it seemed to be a bacchanalian triumph, or carnival on the water, whilst it was a severe judgment on the land, the trees not only splitting as if lightning-struck, but men and cattle perishing in divers places, and the very seas so locked up with ice, that no vessels could stir out or come in. The fowls, fish, and birds, and all our exotic plants and greens, universally perishing. Many parks of deer were destroyed, and all sorts of fuel so dear, that there were great contributions to preserve the poor alive. Nor was this severe weather much less intense in most parts of Europe, even as far as Spain and the most southern tracts. London, by reason of the excessive coldness of the air hindering the ascent of the smoke, was so filled with the fuliginous steam of the sea-coal, that hardly could one see across the streets, and this filling the lungs with its gross particles, exceedingly obstructed the breast, so as one could scarcely breathe. Here was no water to be had from the pipes and engines, nor could the brewers and divers other tradesmen work, and every moment was full of disastrous accidents.

4th February. I went to Sayes Court to see how the frost had dealt with my garden, where I found many of the greens and rare plants utterly destroyed. The oranges and myrtles very sick, the rosemary and laurels dead to all appearance, but the cypress likely to endure it.¹

¹ [He gives details of the devastation in his letter to the Royal Society (see *post*, p. 125). The severe weather even killed his tortoise.]

5th February. It began to thaw, but froze again. My coach crossed from Lambeth to the Horse-ferry at Milbank, Westminster. The booths were almost all taken down; but there was first a map or landscape cut in copper representing all the manner of the camp, and the several actions, sports, and pastimes thereon, in memory of so signal a frost.

7th. I dined with my Lord Keeper [North],¹ and walking alone with him some time in his gallery, we had discourse of music. He told me he had been brought up to it from a child, so as to sing his part at first sight. Then speaking of painting, of which he was also a great lover, and other ingenious matters, he desired me to come oftener to him.

8th. I went this evening to visit that great and knowing virtuoso, Monsieur Justel.² The weather was set in to an absolute thaw and rain; but the Thames still frozen.

10th. After eight weeks missing the foreign posts, there came abundance of intelligence from abroad.

12th. The Earl of Danby, late Lord Treasurer, together with the Roman Catholic Lords impeached of high treason in the Popish Plot, had now their *habeas corpus*, and came out upon bail, after five years' imprisonment in the Tower.³ Then were also tried and deeply fined Mr. Hampden⁴ and others, for being supposed of the late plot, for which Lord Russell and Colonel Sidney suffered;

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 344.]

² Henry Justel, 1620-93, created D.C.L. by the University of Oxford in 1675, on presenting to the Bodleian the MSS. of his father, Christopher Justel, a learned writer on ecclesiastical antiquities. Both were born in France; but the son fled to England to avoid persecution as a Protestant, and was appointed Keeper of the King's Library at St. James's. He published his father's *Bibliotheca Juris Canonici Veteris* in 1661.

³ [See *ante*, p. 118.]

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 101.]

as also the person who went about to prove that the Earl of Essex had his throat cut in the Tower by others ; likewise Mr. Johnson, the author of that famous piece called *Julian*.¹

15th February. News of the Prince of Orange having accused the Deputies of Amsterdam of *crimen læsæ Majestatis*, and being pensioners to France.

Dr. Tenison² communicated to me his intention of erecting a library³ in St. Martin's parish, for the public use, and desired my assistance, with Sir Christopher Wren, about the placing and structure thereof, a worthy and laudable design. He told me there were thirty or forty young men in orders in his parish, either governors to young gentlemen or chaplains to noblemen, who being reproved by him on occasion for frequenting taverns or coffee-houses, told him they would study or employ their time better, if they had books. This put the pious Doctor on this design ; and indeed a great reproach it is that so great a city as London should not have a public library becoming it. There ought to be one at St. Paul's ; the west end of that church (if ever finished) would be a convenient place.

23rd. I went to Sir John Chardin,⁴ who desired

¹ Samuel Johnson, 1649-1703, a clergyman, and the "Ben Jochanan" of Dryden, who was distinguished by the rigour of his writings against the Court ; particularly by his *Julian the Apostate* (1683), directed at the Duke of York, a recent convert to Popery. For these he was fined, imprisoned, put in the pillory, whipped at the cart's tail, and degraded from the priesthood : nevertheless, he was not silenced ; and he lived to see the Revolution, which placed William of Orange on the throne ; whereupon he received a present of £1000, and a pension of £300 per annum, for the joint lives of himself and his son.

² [See *ante*, p. 59.]

³ [It was in Castle Street, St. Martin's Lane. Wren designed it. It was the first public library in London. In June, 1861, the books (4000 volumes) were sold in aid of the endowment of the Tenison School, now located on the site of Hogarth's old house on the east side of the Fields. They brought nearly £2000.]

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 52.]

my assistance for the engraving the plates, the translation, and printing his History of that wonderful Persian Monument near Persepolis, and other rare antiquities, which he had caused to be drawn from the originals in his second journey into Persia, which we now concluded upon. Afterwards, I went with Sir Christopher Wren to Dr. Tenison, where we made the drawing and estimate of the expense of the library, to be begun this next spring near the Mews.¹

Great expectation of the Prince of Orange's attempts in Holland to bring those of Amsterdam to consent to the new levies, to which we were no friends, by a pseudo-politic adherence to the French interest.

26th February. Came to visit me Dr. Turner, our new Bishop of Rochester.²

28th. I dined at Lady Tuke's, where I heard Dr. Wallgrave³ (physician to the Duke and Duchess) play excellently on the lute.

7th March. Dr. Meggot, Dean of Winchester,⁴ preached an incomparable sermon (the King being now gone to Newmarket), on Heb. xii. 15, showing and pathetically pressing the care we ought to have lest we come short of the grace of God. Afterwards, I went to visit Dr. Tenison at Kensington, whither he was retired to refresh, after he had been sick of the small-pox.

15th. At Whitehall preached Mr. Henry Godolphin,⁵ a prebend of St. Paul's, and brother to my dear friend Sidney, on Isaiah lv. 7. I dined at the Lord Keeper's, and brought him to Sir John Chardin, who showed him his accurate drafts of his travels in Persia.⁶

¹ [See *ante*, p. 123.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 373.]

⁴ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 247.]

⁵ [See *ante*, p. 37.]

² [See *ante*, p. 98.]

⁶ [See *ante*, p. 52.]

28th March. There was so great a concourse of people with their children to be touched for the evil,¹ that six or seven were crushed to death by pressing at the chirurgeon's door for tickets. The weather began to be more mild and tolerable; but there was not the least appearance of any spring.

30th. Easter-day. The Bishop of Rochester² preached before the King; after which his Majesty, accompanied with three of his natural sons, the Dukes of Northumberland, Richmond, and St. Albans (sons of Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Nelly), went up to the altar; the three boys entering before the King within the rails, at the right hand, and three Bishops on the left, viz. London (who officiated), Durham, and Rochester, with the Sub-dean, Dr. Holder. The King, kneeling before the altar, making his offering, the Bishops first received, and then his Majesty; after which he retired to a canopied seat on the right hand. Note, there was perfume burnt before the office began. I had received the sacrament at Whitehall early with the Lords and Household, the Bishop of London officiating. Then went to St. Martin's, where Dr. Tenison preached (recovered from the small-pox); then went again to Whitehall as above. In the afternoon, went to St. Martin's again.

4th April. I returned home with my family to my house at Sayes Court, after five months' residence in London; hardly the least appearance of any spring.

30th. A letter of mine to the Royal Society concerning the terrible effects of the past winter being read, they desired it might be printed in the next part of their *Transactions*.³

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 148.] ² [Dr. Turner (see *ante*, p. 124).]

³ This was done (*Philosophical Transactions*, No. 158, 1684, p. 559). There is an abstract of the letter in Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Writings*, 1825, pp. 692-96.

10th May. I went to visit my brother in Surrey. Called by the way at Ashtead, where Sir Robert Howard (Auditor of the Exchequer) entertained me very civilly at his new-built house, which stands in a park on the Down,¹ the avenue south; though down hill to the house, which is not great, but with the out-houses very convenient. The staircase is painted by Verrio with the story of Astræa; amongst other figures is the picture of the Painter himself, and not unlike him; the rest is well done, only the columns did not at all please me; there is also Sir Robert's own picture in an oval; the whole in *fresco*. The place has this great defect, that there is no water but what is drawn up by horses from a very deep well.

11th. Visited Mr. Higham,² who was ill, and died three days after. His grandfather and father (who christened me), with himself, had now been rectors of this parish [Wotton] 101 years, viz. from May, 1583.

12th. I returned to London, where I found the Commissioners of the Admiralty abolished, and the office of Admiral restored to the Duke, as to the disposing and ordering all sea business; but his Majesty signed all petitions, papers, warrants, and commissions, that the Duke, not acting as admiral by commission or office, might not incur the penalty of the late Act against Papists and Dissenters holding offices, and refusing the oath and test. Every one was glad of this change, those in the late Commission being utterly ignorant in their duty, to the great damage of the Navy.

¹ [Ashtead Estate was sold in 1680 by Henry Howard, Duke of Norfolk, to Sir Robert Howard, sixth son of Thomas, first Earl of Berkeley. He built a new house near the old mansion of the Howards, where he was visited by Charles II., James II., and William III. This was pulled down in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and another took its place.]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 68.]

The utter ruin of the Low Country was threatened by the siege of Luxemburg, if not timely relieved, and by the obstinacy of the Hollanders, who refused to assist the Prince of Orange, being corrupted by the French.

16th May. I received £600 of Sir Charles Bickerstaff for the fee-farm of Pilton, in Devon.

26th. Lord Dartmouth was chosen Master of the Trinity Company, newly returned with the fleet from blowing up and demolishing Tangier.¹ In the sermon preached on this occasion, Dr. Can observed that, in the 27th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, the casting anchor out of the fore-ship had been cavilled at as betraying total ignorance: that it is very true our seamen do not do so; but in the Mediterranean their ships were built differently from ours, and to this day it was the practice to do so there.

Luxemburg was surrendered to the French, which makes them master of all the Netherlands, gives them entrance into Germany, and a fair game for universal monarchy; which that we should suffer, who only and easily might have hindered, astonished all the world. Thus is the poor Prince of Orange ruined, and this nation and all the Protestant interest in Europe following, unless God in His infinite mercy, as by a miracle, interpose, and our great ones alter their counsels. The French fleet were now besieging Genoa, but after burning much of that beautiful city with their bombs, went off with disgrace.

11th June. My cousin, Verney, to whom a very great fortune was fallen, came to take leave of us, going into the country; a very worthy and virtuous young gentleman.

12th. I went to advise and give directions about the building two streets in Berkeley Gardens,

¹ [See *ante*, p. 95.]

reserving the house and as much of the garden as the breadth of the house. In the meantime, I could not but deplore that sweet place¹ (by far the most noble gardens, courts, and accommodations, stately porticoes, etc., anywhere about the town) should be so much straitened and turned into tenements. But that magnificent pile and gardens contiguous to it, built by the late Lord Chancellor Clarendon, being all demolished, and designed for piazzas and buildings,² was some excuse for my Lady Berkeley's resolution of letting out her ground also for so excessive a price as was offered, advancing near £1000 per annum in mere ground-rents; to such a mad intemperance was the age come of building about a city, by far too disproportionate already to the nation: I having in my time seen it almost as large again as it was within my memory.

22nd June. Last Friday, Sir Thomas Armstrong was executed at Tyburn for treason, without trial, having been outlawed and apprehended in Holland, on the conspiracy of the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Russell, etc., which gave occasion of discourse to people and lawyers, in regard it was on an outlawry that judgment was given and execution.³

2nd July. I went to the Observatory at Greenwich, where Mr. Flamsteed⁴ took his observations

¹ [Berkeley House (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 243).]

² [See *ante*, p. 109.]

³ See *ante*, p. 101. When brought up for judgment, Armstrong insisted on his right to a trial, the Act giving that right to those who came in within a year, and the year not having expired. Jeffreys refused it; "and when *Armstrong* insisted, that he asked nothing but the law, *Jefferies* in his brutal way said, he should have it to the full; and so ordered his execution within six days." When Jeffreys went to the King at Windsor soon after, the King took a ring from his finger and gave it to Jeffreys (Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, 1724, i. pp. 579-80).

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 107.]

of the eclipse of the sun, now almost three parts obscured.

There had been an excessive hot and dry spring, and such a drought still continued as never was in my memory.

18th July. Some small sprinkling of rain; the leaves dropping from the trees as in autumn.

25th. I dined at Lord Falkland's,¹ Treasurer of the Navy, where after dinner we had rare music, there being amongst others, Signor Pietro Reggio, and Signor John Baptist, both famous, one for his voice, the other for playing on the harpsichord, few if any in Europe exceeding him. There was also a Frenchman who sung an admirable bass.

26th. I returned home, where I found my Lord Chief-Justice [Jeffreys], the Countess of Clarendon, and Lady Catherine Fitzgerald, who dined with me.

10th August. We had now rain after such a drought as no man in England had known.

24th. Excessive hot. We had not had above one or two considerable showers, and those storms, these eight or nine months. Many trees died for the want of refreshment.

31st. Mr. Sidney Godolphin was made Baron Godolphin.

26th September. The King being returned from Winchester, there was a numerous Court at Whitehall.

At this time the Earl of Rochester was removed from the Treasury to the Presidentship of the Council; Lord Godolphin was made first Commissioner of the Treasury in his place; Lord Middleton (a Scot)² made Secretary of State, in the room of Lord Godolphin. These alterations being very unexpected and mysterious, gave great occasion of discourse.

¹ [See *ante*, p. 97.]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 273.]

There was now an Ambassador from the King of Siam, in the East Indies, to his Majesty.

22nd October. I went with Sir William Godolphin to see the rhinoceros, or unicorn, being the first that I suppose was ever brought into England. She belonged to some East India merchants, and was sold (as I remember) for above £2000. At the same time, I went to see a crocodile, brought from some of the West India Islands, resembling the Egyptian crocodile.

24th. I dined at Sir Stephen Fox's with the Duke of Northumberland.¹ He seemed to be a young gentleman of good capacity, well-bred, civil, and modest: newly come from travel, and had made his campaign at the siege of Luxemburg. Of all his Majesty's children (of which he had now six Dukes) this seemed the most accomplished and worth the owning. He is extraordinary handsome and well-shaped. What the Dukes of Richmond and St. Albans will prove, their youth does not yet discover; they are very pretty boys.

26th. Dr. Goodman preached before the King on James ii. 12, concerning the law of liberty: an excellent discourse and in good method. He is author of *The Prodigal Son*, a treatise worth reading, and another of the old religion.

27th. I visited the Lord Chamberlain, where dined the *black Baron* and Monsieur Flamerin, who had so long been banished France for a duel.

28th. I carried Lord Clarendon through the City, amidst all the squibs and bacchanalia of the Lord Mayor's show, to the Royal Society, where he was proposed a member; and then treated him at dinner.

I went to St. Clement's, that pretty built and contrived church, where a young divine gave us

¹ [George FitzRoy, Duke of Northumberland, 1665-1716, youngest son of Charles II. by Lady Castlemaine.]

an eloquent sermon on 1 Cor. vi. 20, inciting to gratitude and glorifying God for the fabric of our bodies and the dignity of our nature.

2nd November. A sudden change from temperate warm weather to an excessive cold rain, frost, snow, and storm, such as had seldom been known. This winter weather began as early and fierce as the past did late; till about Christmas there then had been hardly any winter.

4th. Dr. Turner,¹ now translated from Rochester to Ely upon the death of Dr. Peter Gunning, preached before the King at Whitehall on Romans iii. 8, a very excellent sermon, vindicating the Church of England against the pernicious doctrines of the Church of Rome. He challenged the producing but of five clergymen who forsook our Church and went over to that of Rome, during all the troubles and rebellion in England, which lasted near twenty years; and this was to my certain observation a great truth.

15th. Being the Queen's birthday, there were fireworks on the Thames before Whitehall, with pageants of castles, forts, and other devices of girandolas,² serpents, the King and Queen's arms and mottoes, all represented in fire, such as had not been seen here. But the most remarkable was the several fires and skirmishes in the very water, which actually moved a long way, burning under the water, now and then appearing above it, giving reports like muskets and cannon, with grenadoes and innumerable other devices. It is said it cost £1500. It was concluded with a ball, where all the young ladies and gallants danced, in the great hall. The court had not been seen so

¹ [See *ante*, p. 98.]

² [Revolving fireworks. Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, 1670, vol. ii. p. 250, speaks of "the *Girandola* and *fireworkes* on S. Peter's Eve, and divers such like sacred triumphs."]

brave and rich in apparel since his Majesty's Restoration.

30th November. In the morning, Dr. Fiennes, son of the Lord Say and Sele, preached before the King on Joshua xxi. 11.

3rd December. I carried Mr. Justel¹ and Mr. Slingsby (Master of the Mint) to see Mr. Sheldon's collection of medals.² The series of Popes was rare, and so were several amongst the moderns, especially that of John Huss's martyrdom at Constance; of the Roman Emperors, Consulars, some Greek, etc., in copper, gold, and silver; not many truly antique; a medallion of Otho, Paulus Æmilius, etc., hardly ancient. They were held at a price of £1000; but not worth, I judge, above £200.

7th. I went to see the new church at St. James's,³ elegantly built; the altar was especially adorned, the white marble enclosure curiously and richly carved, the flowers and garlands about the walls by Mr. Gibbons in wood; a pelican with her young at her breast, just over the altar in the carved compartment and border, environing the purple velvet fringed with I. H. S. richly embroidered, and most noble plate, were given by Sir R. Geere, to the value (as was said) of £200. There was no altar anywhere in England, nor has there been any abroad more handsomely adorned.

17th. Early in the morning I went into St. James's Park to see three Turkish, or Asian horses, newly brought over, and now first showed

¹ [See *ante*, p. 122.]

² [Mr. Ralph Sheldon, 1623-84, the antiquary.]

³ [In Piccadilly, and built by Wren at the expense of the Duke of St. Albans (see vol. ii. p. 149). It was consecrated in July of this year. The carving over the altar and the font are by Grinling Gibbons. Wren was very much pleased with the internal accommodation afforded.]

to his Majesty. There were four, but one of them died at sea, being three weeks coming from Ham-burgh. They were taken from a Bashaw at the siege of Vienna, at the late famous raising that leaguer.¹ I never beheld so delicate a creature as one of them was, of somewhat a bright bay, two white feet, a blaze; such a head, eyes, ears, neck, breast, belly, haunches, legs, pasterns, and feet, in all regards, beautiful, and proportioned to admiration; spirited, proud, nimble, making halt, turning with that swiftness, and in so small a compass, as was admirable. With all this so gentle and tractable as called to mind what I remember Busbequius speaks of them, to the reproach of our grooms in Europe, who bring up their horses so churlishly, as makes most of them retain their ill habits. They trotted like does, as if they did not feel the ground. Five hundred guineas was demanded for the first; 300 for the second; and 200 for the third, which was brown. All of them were choicely shaped, but the two last not altogether so perfect as the first.

It was judged by the spectators, among whom was the King, Prince of Denmark,² Duke of York, and several of the Court, noble persons skilled in horses, especially Monsieur Foubert³ and his son (provost masters of the Academy, and esteemed of the best in Europe), that there were never seen any horses in these parts to be compared with them. Add to all this, the furniture, consisting of embroidery on the saddle, housings, quiver, bow, arrows, scymitar, sword, mace, or battle-axe, *à la Turcisq*; the Bashaw's velvet mantle furred with the most perfect ermine I ever beheld; all which, ironwork in common furniture, being here

¹ [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 27. Scott uses the word in this sense in ch. xxvi. of *Old Mortality*.]

² [See *ante*, p. 107.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 72.]

of silver, curiously wrought and double gilt, to an incredible value. Such and so extraordinary was the embroidery, that I never saw anything approaching it. The reins and headstall were of crimson silk, covered with chains of silver gilt. There was also a Turkish royal standard of a horse's tail, together with all sorts of other caparisons belonging to a general's horse, by which one may estimate how gallantly and magnificently those infidels appear in the field; for nothing could be seen more glorious. The gentleman (a German) who rid the horse, was in all this garb. They were shod with iron made round and closed at the heel, with a hole in the middle about as wide as a shilling. The hoofs most entire.

18th December. I went with Lord Cornwallis¹ to see the young gallants do their exercise, Mr. Foubert having newly railed in a *manège*, and fitted it for the academy. There were the Dukes of Norfolk² and Northumberland,³ Lord Newburgh, and a nephew of (Duras) Earl of Feversham.⁴ The exercises were, 1, running at the ring; 2, flinging a javelin at a Moor's head; 3, discharging a pistol at a mark; lastly, taking up a gauntlet with the point of a sword; all these performed in full speed. The Duke of Northumberland hardly missed of succeeding in; every one, a dozen times, as I think. The Duke of Norfolk did exceeding bravely. Lords Newburgh and Duras seemed nothing so dexterous. Here I saw the difference of what the French call "*bel homme à cheval*," and "*bon homme à cheval*"; the Duke of Norfolk being the first, that is rather a fine person on a horse, the Duke of Northumberland being both in perfection, namely, a graceful person and an excellent rider. But the Duke of Norfolk told

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 162.]

² [See *ante*, p. 130.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 312.]

⁴ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 385.]

me he had not been at this exercise these twelve years before. There were in the field the Prince of Denmark,¹ and the Lord Lansdowne, son of the Earl of Bath,² who had been made a Count of the Empire last summer for his service before Vienna.

20th December. A villainous murder was perpetrated by Mr. St. John, eldest son to Sir Walter St. John, a worthy gentleman, on a knight of quality,³ in a tavern. The offender was sentenced and reprieved. So many horrid murders and duels were committed about this time as were never before heard of in England; which gave much cause of complaint and murmurings.

1684-5 : 1st January. It proved so sharp weather, and so long and cruel a frost, that the Thames was frozen across, but the frost was often dissolved, and then froze again.

11th. A young man preached upon St. Luke xiii. 5, after the Presbyterian tedious method and repetition.

24th. I dined at Lord Newport's,⁴ who has some excellent pictures, especially that of Sir Thomas Hanmer,⁵ by Vandyck, one of the best he ever painted; another of our English Dobson's painting;⁶ but, above all, Christ in the Virgin's

¹ [See *ante*, p. 133.]

² [See *post*, under 2nd September, 1701.]

³ Sir William Estcourt. The catastrophe arose from a sudden quarrel, and great doubts arose whether the offence was more than manslaughter; but St. John was advised to plead guilty, and then had a pardon, for which he paid £1600. Exactly one hundred years before, one of his family had been tried for a similar offence and acquitted, but he was obliged to go abroad, though he was afterwards employed (Manning and Bray's *Surrey*, iii. 330, App. cxx.).

⁴ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 162.]

⁵ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 120. In 1838 the portrait here mentioned was in the possession of Sir Henry Bunbury, Bt. (*Hanmer Correspondence*, 1838, p. 2).]

⁶ William Dobson, 1610-46, a portrait painter, who succeeded Vandyck in the employments he held under Charles I.

lap, by Poussin, an admirable piece ; with something of most other famous hands.

25th January. Dr. Dove¹ preached before the King. I saw this evening such a scene of profuse gaming, and the King in the midst of his three concubines,² as I have never before seen—luxurious dallying and profaneness.

27th. I dined at Lord Sunderland's, being invited to hear that celebrated voice of Mr. Pordage, newly come from Rome ; his singing was after the Venetian recitative, as masterly as could be, and with an excellent voice both treble and bass ; Dr. Wallgrave accompanied it with his theorbo lute,³ on which he performed beyond imagination, and is doubtless one of the greatest masters in Europe on that charming instrument. Pordage is a priest, as Mr. Bernard Howard⁴ told me in private.

There was in the room where we dined, and in his bedchamber, those incomparable pieces of Columbus, a Flagellation, the Grammar-school, the Venus and Adonis of Titian ; and of Vandyck's that picture of the late Earl of Digby (father of the Countess of Sunderland), and Earl of Bedford, Sir Kenelm Digby, and two ladies of incomparable performance ; besides that of Moses and the burning bush of Bassano, and several other pieces of the best masters. A marble head of M. Brutus, etc.

28th. I was invited to my Lord Arundel of Wardour⁵ (now newly released of his six years' confinement in the Tower on suspicion of the plot called Oates's Plot), where after dinner the same Mr. Pordage entertained us with his voice, that excellent and stupendous artist, Signor John

¹ [Henry Dove, 1640-95, Chaplain to Charles II.]

² [The Duchess of Portsmouth, the Duchess of Cleveland, and the Duchess Mazarin.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 373.]

⁴ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 190.]

⁵ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 142.]



King Charles II
after Mary Beale

Baptist, playing to it on the harpsichord. My daughter Mary being with us, she also sung to the great satisfaction of both the masters, and a world of people of quality present.

She did so also at my Lord Rochester's the evening following, where we had the French boy¹ so famed for his singing, and indeed he had a delicate voice, and had been well taught. I also heard Mrs. Packer (daughter to my old friend)² sing before his Majesty and the Duke, privately, that stupendous bass, Gostling,³ accompanying her, but hers was so loud as took away much of the sweetness. Certainly never woman had a stronger or better ear [voice?], could she possibly have governed it. She would do rarely in a large church among the nuns.

4th February. I went to London, hearing his Majesty had been the Monday before (2nd February) surprised in his bedchamber with an apoplectic fit, so that if, by God's providence, Dr. King (that excellent chirurgeon as well as physician) had not been accidentally present to let him blood (having his lancet in his pocket), his Majesty had certainly died that moment; which might have been of direful consequence, there being nobody else present with the King save this Doctor and one more, as I am assured. It was a mark of the extraordinary dexterity, resolution, and presence of mind in the Doctor, to let him blood in the very paroxysm, without staying the coming of other physicians, which regularly should have been done, and for want of which he must have a regular

¹ [François Duperrier. Macaulay, who does not give his name, says he was the Duchess Mazarin's page.]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 61.]

³ [John Gostling, *d.* 1733, of the Chapel Royal, for whom Purcell wrote the anthem, "They that go down to the sea in ships."]

pardon, as they tell me.¹ This rescued his Majesty for the instant, but it was only a short reprieve. He still complained, and was relapsing, often fainting, with sometimes epileptic symptoms, till Wednesday, for which he was cupped, let blood in both jugulars, had both vomit and purges, which so relieved him, that on Thursday hopes of recovery were signified in the public Gazette, but that day about noon, the physicians thought him feverish. This they seemed glad of as being more easily allayed and methodically dealt with than his former

¹ [To Evelyn's hearsay account may be appended that of an eminently truthful eye-witness, Thomas Bruce (afterwards second Earl of Ailesbury), a gentleman of the Bedchamber. On this particular morning the King had risen unwell, and gone to his private closet for a favourite remedy. The day was bitterly cold. Returning to his room, at the urgent solicitation of his scared attendants, he seemed "not to mind what was said" or to "have the liberty of his tongue." Bruce goes on:—"It being shaving day, his barber told him all was ready. He always sat with his knees against the window, and the barber, having fixed the linen on one side, went behind the chair to do the same on the other, and I, standing close to the chair, he fell into my arms in the most violent fit of apoplexy. Doctor King, that had been a chirurgeon, happened to be in the room of his own accord, the rest having retired before. I asked him if he had any lancets, and he replying he had, I ordered him to bleed the king without delay, which he did; and, perceiving the blood, I went to fetch the Duke of York, who came so on the instant that he had one shoe and one slipper. At my return with the Duke the king was in bed, and in a pretty good state, and going on the contrary side where the Duke was, he perceiving me, took me fast by the hand, saying, 'I see you love me dying as well as living,' and thanked me heartily for the orders I gave Doctor King (who was knighted for that service) to bleed him, as also for sending Mr. Chiffins [Chiffinch] to persuade him to come out of his closet" (*Memoirs of Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury, written by Himself*, ed. W. E. Buckley, Roxburghe Club, 1890, pp. 88-89). Dr. Edmund King, 1629-1709, above referred to, seems to have got nothing but his knighthood.] Burnet tells us that the Privy Council approved of what he had done, and ordered him £1000, but it was never paid him (*History of His Own Time*, 1724, i. p. 606). [There is a portrait of King by Sir Peter Lely, in the Royal College of Physicians, bequeathed by himself.]

fits; so as they prescribed the famous Jesuit's powder; but it made him worse, and some very able doctors who were present did not think it a fever, but the effect of his frequent bleeding and other sharp operations used by them about his head, so that probably the powder might stop the circulation, and renew his former fits, which now made him very weak. Thus he passed Thursday night with great difficulty, when complaining of a pain in his side, they drew twelve ounces more of blood from him; this was by six in the morning on Friday, and it gave him relief, but it did not continue, for being now in much pain, and struggling for breath, he lay dozing, and, after some conflicts, the physicians despairing of him, he gave up the ghost at half-an-hour after eleven in the morning, being the sixth of February, 1685, in the 36th year of his reign, and 54th of his age.

Prayers were solemnly made in all the churches, especially in both the Court Chapels, where the chaplains relieved one another every half quarter of an hour from the time he began to be in danger till he expired, according to the form prescribed in the Church-offices. Those who assisted his Majesty's devotions were, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Durham, and Ely, but more especially Dr. Ken, the Bishop of Bath and Wells. It is said they exceedingly urged the receiving Holy Sacrament, but his Majesty told them he would consider of it, which he did so long till it was too late. Others whispered that the Bishops and Lords, except the Earls of Bath and Feversham, being ordered to withdraw the night before, Huddleston, the priest, had presumed to administer the Popish offices.¹ He gave

¹ [Here again a passage may be borrowed from Bruce, in preference to other records. "On Thursday, that great and pious prelate, Sandcroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the

his breeches and keys to the Duke, who was almost continually kneeling by his bedside, and in tears. He also recommended to him the care of his natural children, all except the Duke of Monmouth, now in Holland, and in his displeasure. He entreated the Queen to pardon him (not without cause); who a little before had sent a bishop to excuse her not more frequently visiting him, in regard of her excessive grief, and withal that his Majesty would forgive it if at any time she had offended him. He spake to the Duke to be kind to the Duchess of Cleveland, and especially Portsmouth, and that Nelly might not starve.

Thus died King Charles II., of a vigorous and robust constitution, and in all appearance promising a long life. He was a prince of many virtues, and many great imperfections; debonair, easy of access, not bloody nor cruel; his countenance fierce, his voice great, proper of person, every motion

Bishops in town came to offer him [the King] their spiritual service. The Archbishop was of a timid temper and had a low voice, and Bishop Ken the contrary, and like to a nightingale for the sweetness of it, so he was desired by the rest to persuade the king to hearken to them. The king thanked them very much, and told them that it was time enough or somewhat to that purpose, and modestly waived them, which was in my hearing. On Friday the 6th, having been much fatigued, I came not until about ten, knowing that there was no hopes. About eight that morning his Royal Highness by a back stair brought in Father Huddleston that had contributed to save the King at Boscobel after the fatal battle of Worcester in 1657. . . . As soon as the king saw the father come in, he cried out, 'You that saved my body is [*sic*] now come to save my soul.' This is literally true on a Christian [as I am a Christian?] . . . The King made a general confession with a most true, hearty, and sincere repentance, weeping and bewailing his sins, and he received what is styled all the rites of the Church, and like a true and hearty penitent, and just at high water and full moon at noon he expired" (*Memoirs of Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury, ut supra*, pp. 89-90). See also Clarke's *Life of James the Second*, 1816, i. pp. 746-49, from which it is plain that the priest was sent for at the King's desire.]

became him ; a lover of the sea, and skilful in shipping ; not affecting other studies, yet he had a laboratory, and knew of many empirical medicines, and the easier mechanical mathematics ; he loved planting and building, and brought in a politer way of living, which passed to luxury and intolerable expense. He had a particular talent in telling a story, and facetious passages, of which he had innumerable ; this made some buffoons and vicious wretches too presumptuous and familiar, not worthy the favour they abused. He took delight in having a number of little spaniels follow him and lie in his bedchamber, where he often suffered the bitches to puppy and give suck, which rendered it very offensive, and indeed made the whole court nasty and stinking. He would doubtless have been an excellent prince, had he been less addicted to women, who made him uneasy, and always in want to supply their unmeasurable profusion, to the detriment of many indigent persons who had signally served both him and his father. He frequently and easily changed favourites to his great prejudice.

As to other public transactions, and unhappy miscarriages, 'tis not here I intend to number them ; but certainly never had King more glorious opportunities to have made himself, his people, and all Europe happy, and prevented innumerable mischiefs, had not his too easy nature resigned him to be managed by crafty men, and some abandoned and profane wretches who corrupted his otherwise sufficient parts, disciplined as he had been by many afflictions during his banishment, which gave him much experience and knowledge of men and things ; but those wicked creatures took him from off all application becoming so great a King. The history of his reign will certainly be the most wonderful for the variety of matter and accidents, above any

extant in former ages: the sad tragical death of his father, his banishment and hardships, his miraculous restoration, conspiracies against him, parliaments, wars, plagues, fires, comets, revolutions abroad happening in his time, with a thousand other particulars. He was ever kind to me, and very gracious upon all occasions, and therefore I cannot without ingratitude but deplore his loss, which for many respects, as well as duty, I do with all my soul.

His Majesty being dead, the Duke, now King James II., went immediately to Council, and before entering into any business, passionately declaring his sorrow, told their Lordships, that since the succession had fallen to him, he would endeavour to follow the example of his predecessor in his clemency and tenderness to his people; that, however he had been misrepresented as affecting arbitrary power, they should find the contrary; for that the laws of England had made the King as great a monarch as he could desire; that he would endeavour to maintain the Government both in Church and State, as by law established, its principles being so firm for monarchy, and the members of it showing themselves so good and loyal subjects;¹ and that, as he would never

¹ This is the substance and very nearly in the words given by King James II. in his MS. printed in his Life; but in that MS. are some words which Mr. Evelyn has omitted, viz. after speaking of the Members of the Church of England as good and loyal subjects, the King adds, *and therefore I shall always take care to defend and support it.* The King then goes on to say, that being desired by some present to allow copies to be taken, he said he had not committed it to writing; on which Mr. Finch [then Solicitor-General, and afterwards Earl of Aylesford] replied, that what his Majesty had said had made so deep an impression on him, that he believed he could repeat the very words, and if his Majesty would permit him, he would write them down; which the King agreeing to, he went to a table and wrote them down, and this being shown to the King, he approved of it, and it was immediately published.

The King then goes on to say; No one can wonder that

depart from the just rights and prerogatives of the Crown, so would he never invade any man's property; but as he had often adventured his life in defence of the nation, so he would still proceed, and preserve it in all its lawful rights and liberties.

This being the substance of what he said, the Lords desired it might be published, as containing matter of great satisfaction to a jealous people upon this change, which his Majesty consented to. Then were the Council sworn, and a Proclamation ordered to be published that all officers should continue in their stations, that there might be no failure of public justice, till his further pleasure should be known. Then the King rose, the Lords accompanying him to his bedchamber, where, whilst

Mr. Finch should word the speech as strong as he could in favour of the Established Religion, nor that the King in such a hurry should pass it over without reflection; for though his Majesty intended to promise both security to their religion and protection to their persons, he was afterwards convinced it had been better expressed by assuring them he never would endeavour to alter the Established Religion, than that he would endeavour to preserve it, and that he would rather support and defend the professors of it, rather than the religion itself; they could not expect he should make a conscience of supporting what in his conscience he thought erroneous; his engaging not to molest the professors of it, nor to deprive them or their successors of any spiritual dignity, revenue, or employment, but to suffer the ecclesiastical affairs to go on in the track they were in, was all they could wish or desire from a Prince of a different persuasion; but having once approved that way of expressing it which Mr. Finch had made choice of, he thought it necessary not to vary from it in the declarations or speeches he made afterwards, not doubting but the world would understand it in the meaning he intended.—'Tis true afterwards *it was* pretended he kept not up to this engagement, but had they deviated no further from the duty and allegiance which both nature and repeated oaths obliged them to, *than he did from his word*, they had still remained as happy a people as they really were during his short reign in England."—[Clarke's *Life of James the Second*, 1816], vol. ii. 435. The words in italics were afterwards interlined by the son of King James the Second (*Bray's Note*).

he reposed himself, tired indeed as he was with grief and watching, they returned again into the Council-chamber to take order for the *proclaiming* his Majesty, which (after some debate) they consented should be in the very form his grandfather, King James I., was, after the death of Queen Elizabeth; as likewise that the Lords, etc., should proceed in their coaches through the city for the more solemnity of it. Upon this was I, and several other gentlemen waiting in the Privy gallery, admitted into the Council-chamber to be witness of what was resolved on. Thence with the Lords, the Lord Marshal and Heralds, and other Crown-officers being ready, we first went to Whitehall-gate, where the Lords stood on foot bare-headed, whilst the Herald proclaimed his Majesty's title to the Imperial Crown and succession according to the form, the trumpets and kettle-drums having first sounded three times, which ended with the people's acclamations. Then a herald called the Lords' coaches according to rank, myself accompanying the solemnity in my Lord Cornwallis's coach, first to Temple Bar, where the Lord Mayor and his brethren met us on horseback, in all their formalities, and proclaimed the King; hence to the Exchange in Cornhill, and so we returned in the order we set forth. Being come to Whitehall, we all went and kissed the King and Queen's hands. He had been on the bed, but was now risen and in his undress. The Queen was in bed in her apartment, but put forth her hand, seeming to be much afflicted, as I believe she was, having deported herself so decently upon all occasions since she came into England, which made her universally beloved.

Thus concluded this sad and not joyful day.

I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming, and all dissoluteness, and as

it were total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday evening), which this day se'nnight I was witness of, the King sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Mazarin, etc., a French boy singing love-songs,¹ in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at basset round a large table, a bank of at least £2000 in gold before them; upon which two gentlemen who were with me made reflections with astonishment. Six days after, was all in the dust.

It was enjoined that those who put on mourning should wear it as for a father, in the most solemn manner.

10th February. Being sent to by the Sheriff of the County to appear and assist in proclaiming the King, I went the next day to Bromley, where I met the Sheriff and the Commander of the Kentish Troop, with an appearance, I suppose, of above 500 horse, and innumerable people, two of his Majesty's trumpets, and a Serjeant with other officers, who having drawn up the horse in a large field near the town, marched thence, with swords drawn, to the market-place, where, making a ring, after sound of trumpets and silence made, the High Sheriff read the proclaiming titles to his bailiff, who repeated them aloud, and then, after many shouts of the people, his Majesty's health being drunk in a flint glass of a yard long,² by the Sheriff, Commander, Officers, and chief Gentlemen, they all dispersed, and I returned.

¹ See *ante*, p. 137.

² [A yard of ale glass, 38 in. high, and capable of holding two pints, was figured in the *Tatler* for 8th January, 1902. It belonged to Dr. Ernest Fincham. Another, "somewhat like a post horn in shape," was exhibited at Shrewsbury in May, 1895. These drinking vessels were once comparatively common; and were generally hung to inn walls by coloured ribbons (*Notes and Queries*, 9th S. ix. (1902), pp. 84, 255).]

13th *February*. I passed a fine on selling of Honson Grange in Staffordshire, being about £20 per annum, which lying so great a distance, I thought fit to part with it to one Burton, a farmer there. It came to me as part of my daughter-in-law's portion, this being but a fourth part of what was divided between the mother and three sisters.

14th. The King was this night very obscurely buried¹ in a vault under Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster, without any manner of pomp, and soon forgotten after all this vanity, and the face of the whole Court was exceedingly changed into a more solemn and moral behaviour; the new King affecting neither profaneness nor buffoonery. All the great officers broke their staves over the grave, according to form.

15th. Dr. Tenison² preached to the Household. The second sermon should have been before the King; but he, to the great grief of his subjects, did now, for the first time, go to mass publicly in the little Oratory at the Duke's lodgings, the doors being set wide open.

16th. I dined at Sir Robert Howard's, Auditor

¹ "One of the first things which required his Majesty's attention was the funeral obsequies of the late King, which could not be perform'd with so great solemnity as some persons expected, because his late Majesty dying in, and his present Majesty professing a different religion from that of his people, it had been a difficult matter to reconcile the greater ceremonies, which must have been performed according to the rites of the Church of England, with the obligation of not communicating with it in spiritual things; to avoid therefore either disputes on one hand or scandal on the other, it was thought more prudent to doe it in a more private manner, thō at the Same time there was no circumstance of State and pomp omitted, which possebly could be allow'd of: for (besides, that while the body lay in state the illuminations and mourning was very solemn) all the privy Council, all the houshold, and all the Lords about Town attended at the Funeral."—Clarke's *Life of James the Second*, 1816, vol. ii. p. 6.

² [See *ante*, p. 59.]

of the Exchequer, a gentleman pretending to all manner of arts and sciences, for which he had been the subject of comedy, under the name of Sir Positive;¹ not ill-natured, but insufferably boasting. He was son to the late Earl of Berkshire.

17th February. This morning his Majesty restored the staff and key to Lord Arlington, Chamberlain; to Mr. Saville, Vice-chamberlain;² to Lords Newport and Maynard, Treasurer and Comptroller of the Household; Lord Godolphin made Chamberlain to the Queen; Lord Peterborough³ Groom of the Stole, in place of the Earl of Bath; the Treasurer's staff to the Earl of Rochester; and his brother, the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Privy Seal, in the place of the Marquis of Halifax,⁴ who was made President of the Council; the Secretaries of State remaining as before.

19th. The Lord Treasurer and the other new Officers were sworn at the Chancery Bar and the Exchequer.

The late King having the revenue of excise, customs, and other late duties granted for his life only, they were now farmed and let to several persons, upon an opinion that the late King might let them for three years after his decease; some of the old Commissioners refused to act. The lease was made but the day before the King died;⁵ the

¹ See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 263. Evelyn here means Sir Positive At-All, in Shadwell's comedy of *The Sullen Lovers*, which Pepys also tells us was meant for Sir Robert Howard. [He was perhaps also the Bilboa of Buckingham's *Rehearsal*.]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 306.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 159.]

⁴ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 393.]

⁵ James, in his *Life*, makes no mention of this lease, but only says *he* continued to collect them, which conduct was not blamed: but, on the contrary, he was thanked for it, in an address from the Middle Temple, penned by Sir Bartholomew Shore, and presented by Sir Humphrey Mackworth, carrying great authority with it; nor did the Parliament find fault.

major part of the Judges (but, as some think, not the best lawyers) pronounced it legal, but four dissented.

The Clerk of the Closet had shut up the late King's private oratory next the Privy-chamber above, but the King caused it to be opened again, and that prayers should be said as formerly.

22nd February. Several most useful Tracts against Dissenters, Papists, and Fanatics, and Resolutions of Cases were now published by the London Divines.

4th March. Ash-Wednesday. After evening prayers, I went to London.

5th. To my grief, I saw the new pulpit set up in the Popish Oratory at Whitehall for the Lent preaching, mass being publicly said, and the Romanists swarming at Court with greater confidence than had ever been seen in England since the Reformation, so as everybody grew jealous as to what this would tend.

A Parliament was now summoned, and great industry used to obtain elections which might promote the Court-interest, most of the Corporations being now, by their new charters, empowered to make what returns of members they pleased.

There came over divers envoys and great persons to condole the death of the late King, who were received by the Queen-Dowager on a bed of mourning, the whole chamber, ceiling and floor, hung with black, and tapers were lighted, so as nothing could be more lugubrious and solemn. The Queen-Consort sate under a state on a black foot-cloth, to entertain the circle (as the Queen used to do), and that very decently.

6th. Lent Preachers continued as formerly in the Royal Chapel.

7th. My daughter, Mary, was taken with the small-pox, and there soon was found no hope of

her recovery. A great affliction to me : but God's holy will be done !

10th March. She received the blessed Sacrament ; after which, disposing herself to suffer what God should determine to inflict, she bore the remainder of her sickness with extraordinary patience and piety, and more than ordinary resignation and blessed frame of mind. She died the 14th,¹ to our unspeakable sorrow and affliction, and not to ours only, but that of all who knew her, who were many of the best quality, greatest and most virtuous persons. The justness of her stature, person, comeliness of countenance, gracefulness of motion, unaffected, though more than ordinary beautiful, were the least of her ornaments compared with those of her mind. Of early piety, singularly religious, spending a part of every day in private devotion, reading, and other virtuous exercises ; she had collected and written out many of the most useful and judicious periods of the books she read in a kind of common-place, as out of Dr. Hammond² on the New Testament, and most of the best practical treatises. She had read and digested a considerable deal of history, and of places. The French tongue was as familiar to her as English ; she understood Italian, and was able to render a laudable account of what she read and observed, to which assisted a most faithful memory and discernment ; and she did make very prudent and discreet reflections upon what she had observed of the conversations among which she had at any time been, which being continually of persons of the best quality, she thereby improved. She had an excellent voice, to which she played a thorough-bass on the harpsichord, in both which she arrived

¹ [17th—says the tablet at Deptford.]

² [Dr. Henry Hammond's *Paraphrase and Annotations on the New Testament*, 1635.]

to that perfection, that of the scholars of those two famous masters, Signors Pietro and Bartholomeo, she was esteemed the best; for the sweetness of her voice and management of it added such an agreeableness to her countenance, without any constraint or concern, that when she sung, it was as charming to the eye as to the ear; this I rather note, because it was a universal remark, and for which so many noble and judicious persons in music desired to hear her, the last being at Lord Arundel's of Wardour.

What shall I say, or rather not say, of the cheerfulness and agreeableness of her humour? condescending to the meanest servant in the family, or others, she still kept up respect, without the least pride. She would often read to them, examine, instruct, and pray with them if they were sick, so as she was exceedingly beloved of everybody. Piety was so prevalent an ingredient in her constitution (as I may say), that even amongst equals and superiors she no sooner became intimately acquainted, but she would endeavour to improve them, by insinuating something religious, and that tended to bring them to a love of devotion; she had one or two confidants with whom she used to pass whole days in fasting, reading, and prayers, especially before the monthly communion, and other solemn occasions. She abhorred flattery, and, though she had abundance of wit, the raillery was so innocent and ingenuous that it was most agreeable; she sometimes would see a play, but since the stage grew licentious, expressed herself weary of them, and the time spent at the theatre was an unaccountable vanity. She never played at cards without extreme importunity and for the company; but this was so very seldom, that I cannot number it among anything she could name a fault.

No one could read prose or verse better or with

more judgment; and as she read, so she wrote, not only most correct orthography, with that maturity of judgment and exactness of the periods, choice of expressions, and familiarity of style, that some letters of hers have astonished me and others, to whom she has occasionally written. She had a talent of rehearsing any comical part or poem, as to them she might be decently free with; was more pleasing than heard on the theatre; she danced with the greatest grace I had ever seen, and so would her master say, who was Monsieur Isaac;¹ but she seldom showed that perfection, save in the gracefulness of her carriage, which was with an air of sprightly modesty not easily to be described. Nothing affected, but natural and easy as well in her deportment as in her discourse, which was always material, not trifling, and to which the extraordinary sweetness of her tone, even in familiar speaking, was very charming. Nothing was so pretty as her descending to play with little children, whom she would caress and humour with great delight. But she most affected to be with grave and sober men, of whom she might learn something, and improve herself. I have been assisted by her in reading and praying by me; comprehensive of uncommon notions, curious of knowing everything to some excess, had I not sometimes repressed it.

Nothing was so delightful to her as to go into my study, where she would willingly have spent whole days, for as I said she had read abundance of history, and all the best poets, even Terence, Plautus, Homer, Virgil, Horace, Ovid; all the

¹ [See *ante*, p. 79. The Preface to *Mundus Muliebris* (see next page) speaks somewhat cavalierly of this esteemed preceptor:—"They danced the *Canarys*, *Spanish Pavan*, and *Selenger's Round*, upon sippets [sops] with as much grace and loveliness as any ISAAC, *Monsieur*, or *Italian* of them all, can teach with his fop-call and apish postures" (*Miscellaneous Writings*, 1825, p. 702).]

best romances and modern poems ; she could compose happily, and put in pretty symbols, as in the *Mundus Muliebris*,¹ wherein is an enumeration of the immense variety of the modes and ornaments belonging to the sex. But all these are vain trifles to the virtues which adorned her soul ; she was sincerely religious, most dutiful to her parents, whom she loved with an affection tempered with great esteem, so as we were easy and free, and never were so well pleased as when she was with us, nor needed we other conversation ; she was kind to her sisters, and was still improving them by her constant course of piety. O, dear, sweet, and desirable child, how shall I part with all this goodness and virtue without the bitterness of sorrow and reluctancy of a tender parent ! Thy affection, duty, and love to me was that of a friend as well as a child. Nor less dear to thy mother, whose example and tender care of thee was unparalleled, nor was thy return to her less conspicuous ; Oh ! how she mourns thy loss ! how desolate hast thou left us ! To the grave shall we both carry thy memory ! God alone (in whose bosom thou art at rest and happy !) give us to resign thee and all our contentments (for thou indeed wert all in this world) to His blessed pleasure ! Let Him be glorified by our submission, and give us grace to bless Him for the graces he implanted in thee, thy virtuous life, pious and holy death, which is indeed the only comfort of our souls, hastening through the infinite love and mercy of the Lord Jesus to be shortly with thee, dear child, and with thee and those blessed saints like thee, glorify the Redeemer of the world to all eternity ! Amen.

¹ [*Mundus Muliebris* : or, the Ladies' Dressing-room Unlock'd and her toilette spread. In *Burlesque* [Verse]. Together with the *Fop-Dictionary*, compiled for the use of the fair sex : London, 1690, 4°. It is reprinted in the *Miscellaneous Writings*, 1825, pp. 697-718.]

It was in the 19th year of her age that this sickness happened to her. An accident contributed to this disease; she had an apprehension of it in particular, which struck her but two days before she came home, by an imprudent gentlewoman whom she went with Lady Falkland to visit, who, after they had been a good while in the house, told them she had a servant sick of the small-pox (who indeed died the next day); this my poor child acknowledged made an impression on her spirits. There were four gentlemen of quality offering to treat with me about marriage, and I freely gave her her own choice, knowing her discretion. She showed great indifference to marrying at all, for truly, says she to her mother (the other day), were I assured of your life and my dear father's, never would I part from you; I love you and this home, where we serve God, above all things, nor ever shall I be so happy; I know and consider the vicissitudes of the world, I have some experience of its vanities, and but for decency more than inclination, and that you judge it expedient for me, I would not change my condition, but rather add the fortune you design me to my sisters, and keep up the reputation of our family. This was so discreetly and sincerely uttered that it could not but proceed from an extraordinary child, and one who loved her parents beyond example.

At London, she took this fatal disease, and the occasion of her being there was this; my Lord Viscount Falkland's Lady having been our neighbour (as he was Treasurer of the Navy),¹ she took so great an affection to my daughter, that when they went back in the autumn to the City, nothing would satisfy their incessant importunity but letting her accompany my Lady, and staying sometime with her; it was with the greatest reluctance

¹ [See *ante*, p. 97.]

I complied. Whilst she was there, my Lord being musical, when I saw my Lady would not part with her till Christmas, I was not unwilling she should improve the opportunity of learning of Signor Pietro, who had an admirable way both of composition and teaching. It was the end of February before I could prevail with my Lady to part with her; but my Lord going into Oxfordshire to stand for Knight of the Shire there, she expressed her wish to come home, being tired of the vain and empty conversation of the town, the theatres, the court, and trifling visits which consumed so much precious time, and made her sometimes miss of that regular course of piety that gave her the greatest satisfaction. She was weary of this life, and I think went not thrice to Court all this time, except when her mother or I carried her. She did not affect showing herself, she knew the Court well, and passed one summer in it at Windsor with Lady Tuke,¹ one of the Queen's women of the bed-chamber (a most virtuous relation of hers); she was not fond of that glittering scene, now become abominably licentious, though there was a design of Lady Rochester and Lady Clarendon to have made her a maid of honour to the Queen as soon as there was a vacancy. But this she did not set her heart upon, nor indeed on anything so much as the service of God, a quiet and regular life, and how she might improve herself in the most necessary accomplishments, and to which she was arrived at so great a measure.

This is the little history and imperfect character of my dear child, whose piety, virtue, and incomparable endowments deserve a monument more durable than brass and marble. Precious is the memorial of the just. Much I could enlarge on every period of this hasty account, but that I ease

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 356.]

and discharge my overcoming passion for the present, so many things worthy an excellent Christian and dutiful child crowding upon me. Never can I say enough, oh dear, my dear child, whose memory is so precious to me!

This dear child was born at Wotton,¹ in the same house and chamber in which I first drew my breath, my wife having retired to my brother there in the great sickness that year, upon the first of that month, and the very hour that I was born, upon the last : viz. October.

16th March. She was interred in the south-east end of the church at Deptford,² near her grandmother and several of my younger children and relations. My desire was she should have been carried and laid among my own parents and relations at Wotton, where I desire to be interred myself, when God shall call me out of this uncertain transitory life, but some circumstances did not permit it. Our vicar, Dr. Holden,³ preached her funeral sermon on Phil. i. 21 : "For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain," upon which he made an apposite discourse, as those who heard it assured me (for grief suffered me not to be present), concluding with a modest recital of her many virtues and signal piety, so as to draw both tears and admiration from the hearers. I was not altogether unwilling that something of this sort should be spoken, for the edification and encouragement of other young people.

Divers noble persons honoured her funeral, some in person, others sending their coaches, of which there were six or seven with six horses, viz. the

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 236.]

² [St. Nicholas Church, Deptford, where, on the E. wall, south of the altar, is a mural tablet to her memory, describing her as "a beautifull young woman, endowed with shining Qualities both of body and mind, infinitely pious, the delight of her Parents and Friends."]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 355.]

Countess of Sunderland, Earl of Clarendon, Lord Godolphin, Sir Stephen Fox, Sir William Godolphin, Viscount Falkland, and others. There were distributed amongst her friends about sixty rings.

Thus lived, died, and was buried the joy of my life, and ornament of her sex and of my poor family! God Almighty of His infinite mercy grant me the grace thankfully to resign myself and all I have, or had, to His divine pleasure, and in His good time, restoring health and comfort to my family: "teach me so to number my days, that I may apply my heart to wisdom," be prepared for my dissolution, and that into the hands of my blessed Saviour I may recommend my spirit! Amen!

On looking into her closet, it is incredible what a number of collections she had made from historians, poets, travellers, etc., but, above all, devotions, contemplations, and resolutions on these contemplations, found under her hand in a book most methodically disposed; prayers, meditations, and devotions on particular occasions, with many pretty letters to her confidants; one to a divine (not named) to whom she writes that he would be her ghostly father, and would not despise her for her many errors and the imperfections of her youth, but beg of God to give her courage to acquaint him with all her faults, imploring his assistance and spiritual directions. I well remember she had often desired me to recommend her to such a person; but I did not think fit to do it as yet, seeing her apt to be scrupulous, and knowing the great innocence and integrity of her life.

It is astonishing how one who had acquired such substantial and practical knowledge in other ornamental parts of education, especially music, both vocal and instrumental, in dancing, paying

and receiving visits, and necessary conversation, could accomplish half of what she has left ; but, as she never affected play or cards, which consume a world of precious time, so she was in continual exercise, which yet abated nothing of her most agreeable conversation. But she was a little miracle while she lived, and so she died !

26th March. I was invited to the funeral of Captain Gunman,¹ that excellent pilot and seaman, who had behaved himself so valiantly in the Dutch war. He died of a gangrene, occasioned by his fall from the pier of Calais. This was the Captain of the yacht carrying the Duke (now King) to Scotland, and was accused for not giving timely warning when she split on the sands, where so many perished ;² but I am most confident he was no ways guilty, either of negligence, or design, as he made appear not only at the examination of the matter of fact, but in the vindication he showed me, and which must needs give any man of reason satisfaction. He was a sober, frugal, cheerful, and temperate man ; we have few such seamen left.

8th April. Being now somewhat composed after my great affliction, I went to London to hear Dr. Tenison³ (it being on a Wednesday in Lent) at Whitehall. I observed that though the King was not in his seat above in the chapel, the Doctor made his three congees, which they were not used to do when the late King was absent, making then one bowing only. I asked the reason ; it was said he had a special order so to do. 'The Princess of Denmark'⁴ was in the King's closet, but sate on the left hand of the chair, the Clerk of the Closet standing by his Majesty's chair, as if he had been present.

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 388.]

² [See *ante*, p. 59.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 83.]

⁴ [Afterwards Queen Anne.]

I met the Queen-Dowager going now first from Whitehall to dwell at Somerset-house.¹

This day my brother of Wotton and Mr. Onslow were candidates for Surrey against Sir Adam Browne and my cousin Sir Edward Evelyn, and were circumvented in their election by a trick of the Sheriff's,² taking advantage of my brother's party going out of the small village of Leatherhead to seek shelter and lodging, the afternoon being tempestuous, proceeding to the election when they were gone; they expecting the next morning; whereas before and then they exceeded the other party by many hundreds, as I am assured. The Duke of Norfolk led Sir Edward Evelyn's and Sir Adam Browne's party. For this parliament, very mean and slight persons (some of them gentlemen's servants, clerks, and persons neither of reputation nor interest) were set up; but the country would choose my brother whether he would or no, and he missed it by the trick above-mentioned. Sir Adam Browne was so deaf, that he could not hear one word. Sir Edward Evelyn³ was an honest gentleman, much in favour with his Majesty.

10th April. I went early to Whitehall to hear Dr. Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury, preaching on Eccles. ix. 18. I returned in the evening, and

¹ [In May, 1685. Catherine resided here until she left England in May, 1692, never to return, when Somerset House became a series of lodgings (like Hampton Court). In 1775 it was pulled down.]

² Mr. Samuel Lewen. His name—says Bray—does not appear in the *History of Surrey* among the land-owners, but it is there stated (vol. i. p. 470) that in 1709 Sir William Lewen purchased the Rectory of Ewell, and that he was Lord Mayor of London in 1717.

³ [Sir Edward Evelyn, *d.* 1692; made a Baronet in 1683.] His seat was at Long Ditton, near Kingston, which town had surrendered its charter to King Charles II. about a month before his death. King James appointed Sir Edward Evelyn one of the new corporation.

visited Lady Tuke,¹ and found with her Sir George Wakeman, the physician, whom I had seen tried and acquitted,² amongst the plotters for poisoning the late King, on the accusation of the famous Oates; and surely I believed him guiltless.

14th April. According to my custom, I went to London to pass the holy week.

17th. Good Friday. Dr. Tenison preached at the new church at St. James's, on 1 Cor. xvi. 22, upon the infinite love of God to us, which he illustrated in many instances. The Holy Sacrament followed, at which I participated. The Lord make me thankful! In the afternoon, Dr. Sprat,³ Bishop of Rochester, preached in Whitehall chapel, the auditory very full of Lords, the two Archbishops, and many others, now drawn to town upon occasion of the coronation and ensuing parliament. I supped with the Countess of Sunderland and Lord Godolphin, and returned home.

23rd. Was the coronation of the King and Queen. The solemnity was magnificent as is set forth in print.⁴ The Bishop of Ely⁵ preached; but, to the sorrow of the people, no Sacrament, as ought to have been. However, the King begins his reign with great expectations, and hopes of much reformation as to the late vices and profaneness of both Court and country. Having been present at the late King's coronation, I was not ambitious of seeing this ceremony.

3rd May. A young man preached, going chaplain with Sir J. Wiburn, Governor of Bombay, in the East Indies.

7th. I was in Westminster Hall when Oates,

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 356.]

² See *ante*, p. 32.

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 300.]

⁴ By Francis Sandford, Lancaster Herald, 1630-94, illustrated with engravings, folio.

⁵ [Dr. Francis Turner. See *ante*, p. 98. He had become Bishop of Ely in 1684.]

who had made such a stir in the kingdom, on his revealing a plot of the Papists, and alarmed several parliaments, and had occasioned the execution of divers priests, noblemen,¹ etc., was tried for perjury at the King's Bench; but, being very tedious, I did not endeavour to see the issue, considering that it would be published. Abundance of Roman Catholics were in the Hall in expectation of the most grateful conviction and ruin of a person who had been so obnoxious to them, and, as I verily believe, had done much mischief and great injury to several by his violent and ill-grounded proceedings, whilst he was at first so unreasonably blown up and encouraged, that his insolence was no longer sufferable.

Mr. Roger L'Estrange (a gentleman whom I had long known, and a person of excellent parts, abating some affectations) appearing first against the Dissenters in several Tracts, had now for some years turned his style against those whom (by way of hateful distinction) they called Whigs and Trimmers, under the title of *Observer*, which came out three or four days every week, in which sheets, under pretence to serve the Church of England, he gave suspicion of gratifying another party, by several passages which rather kept up animosities than appeased them, especially now that nobody gave the least occasion.²

¹ [See *ante*, p. 23. He was convicted May 9, fined, degraded, pilloried, whipped, pilloried again, and imprisoned. He was, however, released at the Revolution, pensioned, and died in 1705. (See *post*, under 22nd May, 1685, p. 164.).]

² See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 109. In the second Dutch war (1665-67), while Evelyn was one of the Commissioners for sick and wounded, L'Estrange in his Gazette mentioned the barbarous usage of the Dutch prisoners of war: whereupon Evelyn wrote him a very spirited letter, desiring that the Dutch Ambassador (who was then in England) and his friends would visit the prisoners, and examine their provisions; and he desired L'Estrange would publish that vindication in his next number.

10th May. The Scots valuing themselves exceedingly to have been the first parliament called by his Majesty, gave the excise and customs to him and his successors for ever; the Duke of Queensberry making eloquent speeches, and especially minding them of a speedy suppression of those late desperate Field-Conventiclers who had done such unheard-of assassinations. In the meantime, elections for the ensuing parliament in England were thought to be very indirectly carried on in most places. God grant a better issue of it than some expect!

16th. Oates was sentenced to be whipped and pilloried with the utmost severity.¹

21st. I dined at my Lord Privy Seal's with Sir William Dugdale, Garter King-at-Arms, author of the *Monasticon* and other learned works; he told me he was 82 years of age, and had his sight and memory perfect.² There was shown a draft of the exact shape and dimensions of the crown the Queen had been crowned withal, together with the jewels and pearls, their weight and value, which amounted to £100,658 sterling, attested at the foot of the paper by the jeweller and goldsmith who set them.

22nd. In the morning, I went with a French gentleman, and my Lord Privy Seal, to the House of Lords, where we were placed by his Lordship next the Bar, just below the Bishops, very commodiously both for hearing and seeing. After a short space, came in the Queen and Princess of

¹ [See *supra*, p. 23; and *post*, p. 164. Under Jeffreys' sentence, he was twice whipped publicly by the common hangman (20th and 22nd May); on the first occasion from Aldgate to Newgate, on the second, from Newgate to Tyburn. The punishment was certainly severe. Edmund Calamy, who saw that of the 22nd, says that Oates's back, "miserably swelled with his first whipping, looked as if it had been flayed." In all he received not less than three thousand lashes (Seccombe's "Titus Oates," in *Twelve Bad Men*, 1894, pp. 139, 142).]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 110.]

Denmark, and stood next above the Archbishops, at the side of the House on the right hand of the throne. In the interim, divers of the Lords, who had not finished before, took the test and usual oaths, so that her Majesty, the Spanish and other Ambassadors, who stood behind the throne, heard the Pope and the worship of the Virgin Mary, etc., renounced very decently, as likewise the prayers which followed, standing all the while. Then came in the King, the crown on his head, and being seated, the Commons were introduced, and the House being full, he drew forth a paper containing his speech, which he read distinctly enough, to this effect: "That he resolved to call a Parliament from the moment of his brother's decease, as the best means to settle all the concerns of the nation, so as to be most easy and happy to himself and his subjects; that he would confirm whatever he had said in his declaration at the first Council¹ concerning his opinion of the principles of the Church of England, for their loyalty, and would defend and support it, and preserve its government as by law now established; that, as he would invade no man's property, so he would never depart from his own prerogative; and, as he had ventured his life in defence of the nation, so he would proceed to do still; that, having given this assurance of his care of our religion (his word was *your* religion) and property (which he had not said by chance, but solemnly), so he doubted not of suitable returns of his subjects' duty and kindness, especially as to settling his revenue for life, for the many weighty necessities of government, which he would not suffer to be precarious; that some might possibly suggest that it were better to feed and supply him from time to time only, out of their inclination to frequent parliaments; but that that would be a

¹ [See *ante*, p. 142.]

very improper method to take with him, since the best way to engage him to meet oftener would be always to use him well, and therefore he expected their compliance speedily, that this session being but short, they might meet again to satisfaction."

At every period of this, the House gave loud shouts. Then he acquainted them with that morning's news of Argyll's being landed in the West Highlands of Scotland from Holland,¹ and the treasonous Declaration he had published, which he would communicate to them, and that he should take the best care he could it should meet with the reward it deserved, not questioning the parliament's zeal and readiness to assist him as he desired; at which there followed another *Vive le Roi*, and so his Majesty retired.

So soon as the Commons were returned and had put themselves into a grand committee, they immediately put the question, and unanimously voted the revenue to his Majesty for life. Mr. Seymour made a bold speech against many elections, and would have had those members who (he pretended) were obnoxious, to withdraw, till they had cleared the matter of their being legally returned; but no one seconded him. The truth is, there were many of the new members whose elections and returns were universally censured, many of them being persons of no condition, or interest, in the nation, or places for which they served, especially in Devon, Cornwall, Norfolk, etc., said to have been recommended by the Court, and from the effect of the new charters changing the electors. It was reported that Lord Bath carried down with him [into Cornwall] no fewer than fifteen charters,

¹ [Archibald Campbell, ninth Earl of Argyll, landed in the Orkneys, 6th May, and was opposed by the militia. His followers dispersed and he attempted flight, but was captured 17th June, and beheaded 30th June, 1685, upon a former sentence of 1681.]

so that some called him the Prince Elector : whence Seymour told the House in his speech that if this was digested, they might introduce what religion and laws they pleased, and that though he never gave heed to the fears and jealousies of the people before, he was now really apprehensive of Popery. By the printed list of members of 505, there did not appear to be above 135 who had been in former Parliaments, especially that lately held at Oxford.

In the Lords' House, Lord Newport¹ made an exception against two or three young Peers, who wanted some months, and some only four or five days, of being of age.

The Popish Lords, who had been sometime before released from their confinement about the plot, were now discharged of their impeachment, of which I gave Lord Arundel of Wardour joy.

Oates, who had but two days before been pilloried at several places and whipped at the cart's tail from Newgate to Aldgate, was this day² placed on a sledge, being not able to go by reason of so late scourging, and dragged from prison to Tyburn, and whipped again all the way, which some thought to be severe and extraordinary ; but, if he was guilty of the perjuries, and so of the death of many innocents (as I fear he was), his punishment was but what he deserved. I chanced to pass just as execution was doing on him. A strange revolution !

Note : there was no speech made by the Lord Keeper [Bridgman] after his Majesty, as usual.

It was whispered he would not be long in that situation, and many believe the bold Chief-Justice Jeffreys,³ who was made Baron of Wem, in Shropshire, and who went thorough stitch⁴ in that tribunal, stands fair for that office. I gave him

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 162.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 113.]

² [May 22, 1685.]

⁴ [*Vulgo*,—the whole hog.]

joy the morning before of his new honour, he having always been very civil to me.

24th May. We had hitherto not any rain for many months, so as the caterpillars had already devoured all the winter-fruit through the whole land, and even killed several greater old trees. Such two winters and summers I had never known.

4th June. Came to visit and take leave of me Sir Gabriel Sylvius,¹ now going Envoy Extraordinary into Denmark, with his Secretary and Chaplain, a Frenchman, who related the miserable persecution of the Protestants in France; not above ten churches left them, and those also threatened to be demolished; they were commanded to christen their children within twenty-four hours after birth, or else a Popish priest was to be called, and then the infant brought up in Popery. In some places, they were thirty leagues from any minister, or opportunity of worship. This persecution had displeased the most industrious part of the nation, and dispersed those into Switzerland, Burgundy, Holland, Germany, Denmark, England, and the Plantations. There were with Sir Gabriel, his lady,² Sir William Godolphin³ and sisters, and my Lord Godolphin's little son,⁴ my charge. I brought them to the water-side where Sir Gabriel embarked, and the rest returned to London.

14th. There was now certain intelligence of the Duke of Monmouth landing at Lyme, in Dorsetshire,⁵ and of his having set up his standard as King of England. I pray God deliver us from the confusion which these beginnings threaten!

Such a dearth for want of rain was never in my memory.

¹ [See *ante*, p. 11.]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 383.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 20.]

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 24; and *post*, under 15th August, 1685.]

⁵ [On 11th June.]

17th June. 'The Duke landed with but 150 men ;¹ but the whole kingdom was alarmed, fearing that the disaffected would join them, many of the trained bands flocking to him. At his landing, he published a Declaration, charging his Majesty with usurpation and several horrid crimes, on pretence of his own title, and offering to call a free Parliament. This declaration was ordered to be burnt by the hangman, the Duke proclaimed a traitor, and a reward of £5000 to any who should kill him.

At this time, the words engraved on the Monument in London, intimating that the Papists fired the City, were erased and cut out.²

The exceeding drought still continues.

18th. I received a warrant to send out a horse with twelve days' provisions, etc.

28th. We had now plentiful rain after two years' excessive drought and severe winters.

Argyll taken in Scotland, and executed, and his party dispersed.³

2nd July. No considerable account of the troops sent against the Duke, though great forces sent. There was a smart skirmish ; but he would not be provoked to come to an encounter, but still kept in the fastnesses.

Dangerfield whipped,⁴ like Oates, for perjury.

¹ ["On landing at Lyme he declared his opponents traitors, ordered the taxes to be levied in his name, as 'King James II., and offered a reward for the apprehension of 'James, Duke of York,' against whom he made the monstrous charges of having caused the fire of London, procured the murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, and poisoned King Charles" (*Annals of England*, 1876, p. 486).]

² [They were re-cut in the reign of William III., and eventually erased by an Act of Common Council, 26th January, 1831.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 163.]

⁴ [Thomas Dangerfield, 1650-85. He had been a witness against Lord Castlemaine in the Meal Tub Plot of 1680, of which he had published a *Particular Narrative*, now declared to contain matter defamatory concerning the King, etc. On his return

8th July. Came news of Monmouth's utter defeat,¹ and the next day of his being taken by Sir William Portman² and Lord Lumley³ with the militia of their counties. It seems the Horse, commanded by Lord Grey,⁴ being newly raised and undisciplined, were not to be brought in so short a time to endure the fire, which exposed the Foot to the King's, so as when Monmouth had led the Foot in great silence and order, thinking to surprise Lieutenant-General Lord Feversham⁵ newly encamped, and given him a smart charge, interchanging both great and small shot, the Horse, breaking their own ranks, Monmouth gave it over, and fled with Grey, leaving their party to be cut in pieces to the number of 2000. The whole number reported to be above 8000; the King's but 2700. The slain were most of them *Mendip-miners*, who did great execution with their tools, and sold their lives very dearly, whilst their leaders flying were pursued and taken the next morning, not far from one another. Monmouth had gone sixteen miles on foot, changing his habit for a poor coat, and was found by Lord Lumley in a dry ditch covered with fern-brakes, but without sword, pistol, or any weapon, and so might have passed for some countryman, his beard being grown so long and so gray as hardly to be known, had not his George discovered him, which was found in his pocket. It is said he trembled exceedingly all over, not able to speak.

from the pillory, he was assaulted by a Romanist lawyer, and died in consequence. Robert Francis, the lawyer, was hanged for murder.]

¹ [At Sedgemoor near Bridgwater, 6th July.]

² [Sir William Portman, 1641-90.]

³ [Richard Lumley, *d.* 1721, created Baron Lumley of Lumley Castle in 1681, afterwards first Earl of Scarborough.]

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 101.]

⁵ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 385. But the King's forces were really under Churchill (afterwards Duke of Marlborough), who had learned warfare from Turenne.]

Grey was taken not far from him. Most of his party were Anabaptists and poor cloth-workers of the country, no gentlemen of account being come in to him. The arch-*boutefeu* Ferguson,¹ Matthews, etc., were not yet found. The £5000 to be given to whoever should bring Monmouth in, was to be distributed among the militia by agreement between Sir William Portman and Lord Lumley. The battle ended, some words, first in jest, then in passion, passed between Sherrington Talbot (a worthy gentleman, son to Sir John Talbot, and who had behaved himself very handsomely) and one Captain Love, both commanders of the militia, as to whose soldiers fought best, both drawing their swords and passing at one another. Sherrington was wounded to death on the spot, to the great regret of those who knew him. He was Sir John's only son.

9th July. Just as I was coming into the lodgings at Whitehall, a little before dinner, my Lord of Devonshire² standing very near His Majesty's bedchamber-door in the lobby, came Colonel Culpeper, and in a rude manner looking at my Lord in the face, asked whether this was a time and place for excluders to appear; my Lord at first took little notice of what he said, knowing him to be a hot-headed fellow, but he reiterating it, my Lord asked Culpeper whether he meant him; he said yes, he meant his Lordship. My Lord told him he was no excluder (as indeed he was not); the other affirming it again, my Lord told him he lied; on which Culpeper struck him a box on the ear, which my Lord returned, and felled him. They were soon parted, Culpeper was seized, and his Majesty, who was all the while in his bedchamber, ordered him to be carried to the

¹ [See *ante*, p. 101. *Boutefeu* = incendiary.]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 56.]

Green-Cloth Officer, who sent him to the Marshalsea, as he deserved. My Lord Devon had nothing said to him.

I supped this night at Lambeth at my old friend's Mr. Elias Ashmole's,¹ with my Lady Clarendon, the Bishop of St. Asaph, and Dr. Tenison, when we were treated at a great feast.

10th July. The Count of Castel Mellor,² that great favourite and prime minister of Alphonso, late King of Portugal, after several years' banishment, being now received to grace and called home by Don Pedro, the present King, as having been found a person of the greatest integrity after all his sufferings, desired me to spend part of this day with him, and assist him in a collection of books and other curiosities, which he would carry with him into Portugal.

Mr. Hussey,³ a young gentleman who made love to my late dear child, but whom she could not bring herself to answer in affection, died now of the same cruel disease, for which I was extremely sorry, because he never enjoyed himself after my daughter's decease, nor was I averse to the match, could she have overcome her disinclination.

15th. I went to see Dr. Tenison's library [in St. Martin's].⁴

Monmouth was this day brought to London and examined before the King, to whom he made great submission, acknowledged his seduction by Ferguson, the Scot, whom he named the bloody villain. He was sent to the Tower, had an interview with his late Duchess,⁵ whom he received coldly, having lived dishonestly with the

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 105.]

² [See *ante*, p. 13.]

³ Son of Mr. Peter Hussey, of Sutton in Shere, Surrey. See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 315 and p. 71.

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 123.]

⁵ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 355.]

Lady Henrietta Wentworth¹ for two years. He obstinately asserted his conversation with that debauched woman to be no sin; whereupon, seeing he could not be persuaded to his last breath, the divines who were sent to assist him² thought not fit to administer the Holy Communion to him. For the rest of his faults he professed great sorrow, and so died without any apparent fear. He would not make use of a cap or other circumstance, but lying down, bid the fellow³ to do his office better than to the late Lord Russell, and gave him gold; but the wretch made five chops before he had his head off; which so incensed the people, that had he not been guarded and got away, they would have torn him to pieces.

The Duke made no speech on the scaffold (which was on Tower-Hill), but gave a paper containing not above five or six lines, for the King, in which he disclaims all title to the Crown, acknowledges that the late King, his father, had indeed told him he was but his base son, and so desired his Majesty to be kind to his wife and children. This relation I had from Dr. Tenison (Rector of St. Martin's), who, with the Bishops of Ely and Bath and Wells, were sent to him by his Majesty, and were at the execution.

Thus ended this quondam Duke, darling of his father and the ladies, being extremely handsome and adroit; an excellent soldier and dancer, a favourite of the people, of an easy nature, debauched by lust; seduced by crafty knaves, who would have set him up only to make a property,

¹ [Henrietta Maria Wentworth, 1657-86, Baroness Wentworth (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 373 n.). She had followed Monmouth to Holland; and supplied funds for his descent upon England.]

² [See next paragraph.]

³ [The executioner was John or Jack Ketch, *d.* 1686, who had flogged Oates (see *ante*, p. 161), and beheaded Lord Russell (see *ante*, p. 107).]

and taken the opportunity of the King being of another religion, to gather a party of discontented men. He failed, and perished.

He was a lovely person,¹ had a virtuous and excellent lady that brought him great riches, and a second dukedom in Scotland. He was Master of the Horse, General of the King his father's army, Gentleman of the Bedchamber, Knight of the Garter, Chancellor of Cambridge; in a word, had accumulations without end. See what ambition and want of principles brought him to! He was beheaded on Tuesday, 14th July.² His mother, whose name was Barlow, daughter of some very mean creatures, was a beautiful strumpet, whom I had often seen at Paris;³ she died miserably without anything to bury her; yet this Perkin had been made to believe that the King had married her, a monstrous and ridiculous forgery! And to satisfy the world of the iniquity of the report, the King his father (if his father he really was, for he most resembled one Sidney⁴ who was familiar with his mother) publicly and most solemnly renounced it, to be so entered in the Council Book some years since, with all the Privy Councillors' attestation.⁵

Had it not pleased God to dissipate this attempt in the beginning, there would in all

¹ [Bruce says he was "the finest nobleman eyes ever saw as to his exterior, and that was all, save that he was of the most courteous and polite behaviour that can be expressed" (*Memoirs of Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury*, Roxburghe Club, 1890, p. 120.)]

² [15th July, in the Tower.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 16.]

⁴ Colonel Robert Sidney, commonly called handsome Sidney, brother of Algernon Sidney, and related to the Earl of Leicester of that name.

⁵ [Charles issued three Declarations denying the marriage, January to June, 1678. There is a full account of Monmouth's mother in vol. i. of Clarke's *Life of James the Second*, 1816, pp. 491-92.]

appearance have gathered an irresistible force which would have desperately proceeded to the ruin of the Church and Government; so general was the discontent and expectation of the opportunity. For my own part, I looked upon this deliverance as most signal. Such an inundation of fanatics and men of impious principles must needs have caused universal disorder, cruelty, injustice, rapine, sacrilege, and confusion, an unavoidable civil war, and misery without end. Blessed be God, the knot was happily broken, and a fair prospect of tranquillity for the future, if we reform, be thankful, and make a right use of this mercy!

18th July. I went to see the muster of the six Scotch and English regiments whom the Prince of Orange¹ had lately sent to his Majesty out of Holland upon this rebellion, but which were now returning, there having been no occasion for their use. They were all excellently clad and well disciplined, and were encamped on Blackheath with their tents: the King and Queen came to see them exercise, and the manner of their encampment, which was very neat and magnificent.

By a gross mistake of the Secretary of his Majesty's Forces, it had been ordered that they should be quartered in private houses, contrary to an Act of Parliament, but, on my informing his Majesty timely of it, it was prevented.

The two horsemen which my son and myself sent into the county-troops, were now come home, after a month's being out to our great charge.

20th. The Trinity-Company met this day, which should have been on the Monday after Trinity, but was put off by reason of the Royal Charter being so large, that it could not be ready before.²

¹ [Afterwards William III.]

² [It had been mainly framed by the voluminous Pepys. The first Charter had already been a very lengthy document.]

Some immunities were superadded. Mr. Pepys, Secretary to the Admiralty, was a second time chosen Master. There were present the Duke of Grafton, Lord Dartmouth, Master of the Ordnance, the Commissioners of the Navy, and Brethren of the Corporation. We went to church, according to custom, and then took barge to the Trinity-House, in London,¹ where we had a great dinner, above eighty at one table.

7th August. I went to see Mr. Watts, keeper of the Apothecaries' garden of simples at Chelsea, where there is a collection of innumerable rarities of that sort particularly, besides many rare annuals, the tree bearing Jesuit's bark, which had done such wonders in quartan agues. What was very ingenious was the subterranean heat, conveyed by a stove under the conservatory, all vaulted with brick, so as he has the doors and windows open in the hardest frosts, secluding only the snow.

15th. Came to visit us Mr. Boscawen, with my Lord Godolphin's little son,² with whose education hitherto his father had entrusted me.

27th. My daughter Elizabeth³ died of the small-pox, soon after having married a young man, nephew of Sir John Tippet, Surveyor of the Navy, and one of the Commissioners. The 30th, she was buried in the church at Deptford. Thus, in less than six months were we deprived of two children for our unworthiness and causes best known to God, whom I beseech from the bottom of my heart that he will give us grace to make that right use of all these chastisements, that we may become better, and entirely submit in all things to his infinite wise disposal. Amen!

¹ [Then in Water Lane, Great Tower Street. It had been burned down in the Great Fire, and rebuilt, 1669-70 (Barrett's *Trinity House*, 1895, pp. 101, 104).]

² [See *ante*, p. 165.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 280.]

3rd September. Lord Clarendon (Lord Privy Seal) wrote to let me know that the King being pleased to send him Lord-Lieutenant into Ireland, was also pleased to nominate me one of the Commissioners to execute the office of Privy Seal during his Lieutenancy there, it behoving me to wait upon his Majesty to give him thanks for this great honour.

5th. I accompanied his Lordship to Windsor (dining by the way at Sir Henry Capel's at Kew),¹ where his Majesty receiving me with extraordinary kindness, I kissed his hand. I told him how sensible I was of his Majesty's gracious favour to me, that I would endeavour to serve him with all sincerity, diligence, and loyalty, not more out of my duty than inclination. He said he doubted not of it, and was glad he had the opportunity to show me the kindness he had for me. After this, came abundance of great men to give me joy.

6th. Sunday. I went to prayer in the chapel, and heard Dr. Standish. The second sermon was preached by Dr. Creighton,² on 1 Thess. iv. 11, persuading to unity and peace, and to be mindful of our own business, according to the advice of the apostle. Then I went to hear a Frenchman who preached before the King and Queen in that splendid chapel next St. George's Hall. Their Majesties going to mass, I withdrew to consider the stupendous painting of the Hall, which, both for the art and invention, deserve the inscription in honour of the painter, Signor Verrio.³ The history is Edward the Third receiving the Black Prince, coming towards him in a Roman triumph. The whole roof is the history of St. George. The throne, the carvings, etc., are incomparable, and I

¹ [See *ante*, p. 19.]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 17.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 97.]

think equal to any, and in many circumstances exceeding any, I have seen abroad.

I dined at Lord Sunderland's, with (amongst others) Sir William Soames, designed Ambassador to Constantinople.

About 6 o'clock, came Sir Dudley and his brother Roger North, and brought the Great Seal from my Lord Keeper,¹ who died the day before at his house in Oxfordshire. The King went immediately to council; everybody guessing who was most likely to succeed this great officer; most believing it could be no other than my Lord Chief-Justice Jeffreys,² who had so vigorously prosecuted the late rebels, and was now gone the Western Circuit, to punish the rest that were secured in the several counties, and was now near upon his return. I took my leave of his Majesty, who spake very graciously to me, and supping that night at Sir Stephen Fox's,³ I promised to dine there the next day.

15th September. I accompanied Mr. Pepys to Portsmouth, whither his Majesty was going the first time since his coming to the Crown, to see in what state the fortifications were. We took coach and six horses, late after dinner, yet got to Bagshot⁴ that night. Whilst supper was making ready I went and made a visit to Mrs. Graham,⁵ sometime Maid of Honour to the Queen-Dowager, now wife to James Graham, Esq., of the privy purse to the King; her house⁶ being a walk in the forest, within a little quarter of a mile from Bagshot town. Very importunate she was that I would sup, and abide there that night; but, being obliged by my companion, I returned to our inn, after she had showed

¹ [See *ante*, p. 89. He died 5th September, 1685.]

² [See *post*, under 31st October, 1685.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 249.]

⁴ A distance of 26 miles.

⁵ See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 383.

⁶ Bagshot Park [now the residence of the Duke of Connaught].

me her house, which was very commodious, and well-furnished, as she was an excellent house-wife, a prudent and virtuous lady. 'There is a park full of red deer about it. Her eldest son was now sick there of the small-pox, but in a likely way of recovery, and other of her children run about, and among the infected, which she said she let them do on purpose that they might whilst young pass that fatal disease she fancied they were to undergo one time or other, and that this would be the best: the severity of this cruel distemper so lately in my poor family confirming much of what she affirmed.

16th September. The next morning, setting out early, we arrived soon enough at Winchester to wait on the King, who was lodged at the Dean's (Dr. Meggot).¹ I found very few with him besides my Lords Feversham, Arran,² Newport, and the Bishop of Bath and Wells. His Majesty was discoursing with the Bishop concerning miracles, and what strange things the Saludadors³ would do in Spain, as by creeping into heated ovens without hurt, and that they had a black cross in the roof of their mouths, but yet were commonly notorious and

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 247].

² [See *ante*, p. 88.]

³ Evelyn subjoins this note with his initials:—"As to that of the Saludador (of which likewise I remember Sir Arthur Hopton, formerly Ambassador at Madrid, had told me many like wonders), Mr. Pepys passing through Spaine, and being extremely inquisitive of the truth of these pretended miracles of the Saludadors, found a very famous one at last, to whom he offered a considerable reward if he would make a trial of the oven, or any other thing of that kind, before him; the fellow ingenuously told him, that finding he was a more than ordinary curious person, he would not deceive him, and so acknowledged that he could do none of the feates really, but that what he pretended was all a cheate, w^{ch} he would easily discover, though the poore superstitious people were easily imposed upon; yet have these impostors an allowance of the Bishops to practice their juglings. This Mr. Pepys affirmed to me; but, said he, I did not conceive it fit to interrupt his Ma^{ty}, who so solemnly told what they pretended to do. J. E."

profane wretches ; upon which his Majesty further said, that he was so extremely difficult of miracles, for fear of being imposed upon, that if he should chance to see one himself, without some other witness, he should apprehend it a delusion of his senses. Then they spake of the boy who was pretended to have a wanting leg restored him, so confidently asserted by Fr. de Santa Clara and others. To all which the Bishop added a great miracle happening in Winchester to his certain knowledge, of a poor miserably sick and decrepit child (as I remember long kept unbaptized), who, immediately on his baptism, recovered ; as also of the salutary effect of King Charles his Majesty's father's blood, in healing one that was blind.

There was something said of the second sight¹ happening to some persons, especially Scotch ; upon which his Majesty, and I think Lord Arran, told us that Monsieur a French nobleman, lately here in England, seeing the late Duke of Monmouth come into the playhouse at London, suddenly cried out to somebody sitting in the same box, *Voilà Monsieur comme il entre sans tête!* Afterwards his Majesty spoke of some relics that had effected strange cures, particularly a piece of our blessed Saviour's cross, that healed a gentleman's rotten nose by only touching. And speaking of the golden cross and chain taken out of the coffin of St. Edward the Confessor at Westminster,² by one of the singing-men, who, as the scaffolds were taken down after his Majesty's coronation, espying a hole in the tomb, and something glisten, put his hand in, and brought it to the dean, and he to the King ; his Majesty began to put the Bishop in mind how earnestly the late King (his brother)

¹ Several very curious letters on this subject are printed in Pepys' *Correspondence* between 24th October, 1699, and 27th May, 1701.

[² See Appendix VII.]

called upon him during his agony, to take out what he had in his pocket.¹ I had thought, said the King, it had been for some keys, which might lead to some cabinet that his Majesty would have me secure; but, says he, you well remember that I found nothing in any of his pockets but a cross of gold, and a few insignificant papers; and thereupon he showed us the cross, and was pleased to put it into my hand. It was of gold, about three inches long, having on one side a crucifix enamelled and embossed, the rest was graved and garnished with goldsmiths' work, and two pretty broad table amethysts (as I conceived), and at the bottom a pendent pearl; within was enchased a little fragment, as was thought, of the true cross, and a Latin inscription in gold and Roman letters.² More company coming in, this discourse ended. I may not forget a resolution which his Majesty made, and had a little before entered upon it at the Council Board at Windsor or Whitehall, that the negroes in the Plantations should all be baptized, exceedingly declaiming against that impiety of their masters prohibiting it, out of a mistaken opinion that they would be *ipso facto* free; but his Majesty persists in his resolution to have them christened, which piety the Bishop blessed him for.

I went out to see the new palace the late King had begun, and brought almost to the covering. It is placed on the side of the hill, where formerly stood the old Castle. It is a stately fabric, of three sides and a corridor, all built of brick, and corniced, windows and columns at the break and

¹ [See *ante*, p. 140.]

² There is a pamphlet giving an account of this finding and presenting to the King, under the name of "Charles Taylour"; but the writer was Henry Keepe, the author of *Monumenta West-monasteriensia*.

entrance of free-stone.¹ It was intended for a hunting-house when his Majesty should come to these parts, and has an incomparable prospect. I believe there had already been £20,000 and more expended; but his now Majesty did not seem to encourage the finishing it at least for a while.

Hence to see the Cathedral, a reverend pile, and in good repair. There are still the coffins of the six Saxon Kings, whose bones had been scattered by the sacrilegious rebels of 1641, in expectation, I suppose, of finding some valuable relics, and afterwards gathered up again and put into new chests, which stand above the stalls of the choir.²

17th September. Early next morning, we went to Portsmouth, something before his Majesty arrived. We found all the road full of people, the women in their best dress, in expectation of seeing the King pass by, which he did, riding on horseback a good part of the way. The Mayor and Aldermen with their mace, and in their formalities, were standing at the entrance of the fort, a mile on this side of the town, where the Mayor made a speech to the King, and then the guns of the fort were fired, as were those of the garrison, as soon as the King was come into Portsmouth. All the soldiers (near 8000) were drawn up, and lining the streets and platform to God's-house (the name of the Governor's residence),

¹ See *ante*, p. 112. Upon Charles's death, a stop was put to the building by James II. It was equally neglected by King William; but Queen Anne, after surveying it herself, intended to complete it in favour of her husband, George, Prince of Denmark, upon whom it was settled, had he lived until she could afford the sums necessary for this purpose.

² ["Elevated above the north screen of the choir"—says Black's *Guide to Hampshire*, 1904, p. 94. The troops of Cromwell stabled their steeds in the Cathedral, breaking the windows and opening the coffins.]

where, after he had viewed the new fortifications and ship-yard, his Majesty was entertained at a magnificent dinner by Sir Slingsby,¹ the Lieutenant-Governor, all the gentlemen in his train sitting down at table with him, which I also had done had I not been before engaged to Sir Robert Holmes, Governor of the Isle of Wight,² to dine with him at a private house, where likewise we had a very sumptuous and plentiful repast of excellent venison, fowl, fish, and fruit.

After dinner, I went to wait on his Majesty again, who was pulling on his boots in the Town-hall adjoining the house where he dined, and then having saluted some ladies, who came to kiss his hand, he took horse for Winchester, whither he returned that night. This hall is artificially hung round with arms of all sorts, like the hall and keep at Windsor. Hence, to see the ship-yard and dock, the fortifications, and other things.

Portsmouth, when finished, will be very strong, and a noble quay. There were now thirty-two men-of-war in the harbour. I was invited by Sir R. Beach, the Commissioner, where, after a great supper, Mr. Secretary³ and myself lay that night, and the next morning set out for Guildford, where we arrived in good hour, and so the day after to London.

I had twice before been at Portsmouth, the Isle of Wight, etc., many years since. I found this part of Hampshire bravely wooded, especially about the house and estate of Colonel Norton, who though now in being, having formerly made his peace by means of Colonel Legg, was formerly a very fierce commander in the first Rebellion. His house is large, and standing low, on the road from Winchester to Portsmouth.

¹ [Query,—Sir *Arthur* Slingsby (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 15).]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 296.]

³ [Pepys.]

By what I observed in this journey, is that infinite industry, sedulity, gravity, and great understanding and experience of affairs, in his Majesty, that I cannot but predict much happiness to the nation, as to its political government; and, if he so persist, there could be nothing more desired to accomplish our prosperity, but that he was of the national religion.

30th September. Lord Clarendon's commission for Lieutenant of Ireland was sealed this day.

2nd October. Having a letter sent me by Mr. Pepys with this expression at the foot of it, "I have something to show you that I may not have another time," and that I would not fail to dine with him, I accordingly went. After dinner, he had me and Mr. Houblon¹ (a rich and considerable merchant, whose father had fled out of Flanders on the persecution of the Duke of Alva) into a private room, and told us that being lately alone with his Majesty, and upon some occasion of speaking concerning my late Lord Arlington dying a Roman Catholic,² who had all along seemed to profess himself a Protestant, taken all the tests, etc., till the day (I think) of his death, his Majesty said that as to his inclinations he had known them long wavering, but from fear of losing his places, he did not think it convenient to declare himself. There are, says the King, those who believe the Church of Rome gives dispensations for going to church, and many like things, but that is not so; for if that might have been had, he himself had most reason to make use of it. *Indeed*, he said, as to *some matrimonial cases, there are now and then dispensations*, but hardly in any cases else.

This familiar discourse encouraged Mr. Pepys to beg of his Majesty, if he might ask it without

¹ [See *ante*, p. 27.]

² [Lord Arlington died 28th July, 1685 (see *ante*, p. 7).]

offence, and for that his Majesty could not but observe how it was whispered among many whether his late Majesty had been reconciled to the Church of Rome ; he again humbly besought his Majesty to pardon his presumption, if he had touched upon a thing which did not befit him to look into. The King ingenuously told him that he both was and died a Roman Catholic, and that he had not long since declared it was upon some politic and state reasons, best known to himself (meaning the King his brother), but that he was of that persuasion :¹ he bid him follow him into his closet, where opening a cabinet, he showed him two papers, containing about a quarter of a sheet, on both sides written, in the late King's own hand, several arguments opposite to the doctrine of the Church of England, charging her with heresy, novelty, and the fanaticism of other Protestants, the chief whereof was, as I remember, our refusing to acknowledge the primacy and infallibility of the Church of Rome ; how impossible it was that so many ages should never dispute it, till of late ; how unlikely our Saviour would leave his Church without a visible Head and guide to resort to, during his absence ; with the like usual topic ; so well penned as to the discourse as did by no means seem to me to have been put together by the late King, yet written all with his own hand, blotted and interlined, so as, if indeed it was not given him by some priest, they might be such arguments and reasons as had been inculcated from time to time, and here recollected ; and, in the conclusion, showing his looking on the Protestant religion (and by name the Church of England) to be without foundation, and consequently false and unsafe. When his Majesty had shown him these originals, he was pleased to lend him the copies of these two papers, attested at

¹ [See *ante*, p. 139.]

the bottom in four or five lines under his own hand.

These were the papers I saw and read. This nice and curious passage I thought fit to set down. Though all the arguments and objections were altogether weak, and have a thousand times been answered by our divines; they are such as their priests insinuate among their proselytes, as if nothing were Catholic but the Church of Rome, no salvation out of that, no reformation sufferable, bottoming all their errors on St. Peter's successors' unerrable dictatorship, but proving nothing with any reason, or taking notice of any objection which could be made against it. Here all was taken for granted, and upon it a resolution and preference implied.

I was heartily sorry to see all this, though it was no other than was to be suspected, by his late Majesty's too great indifference, neglect, and course of life, that he had been perverted, and for secular respects only professed to be of another belief, and thereby giving great advantage to our adversaries, both the Court and generally the youth and great persons of the nation becoming dissolute and highly profane. God was incensed to make his reign very troublesome and unprosperous, by wars, plagues, fires, loss of reputation by an universal neglect of the public for the love of a voluptuous and sensual life, which a vicious Court had brought into credit. I think of it with sorrow and pity, when I consider how good and debonair a nature that unhappy Prince was; what opportunities he had to have made himself the most renowned King that ever swayed the British sceptre, had he been firm to that Church for which his martyred and blessed father suffered; and had he been grateful to Almighty God, who so miraculously restored him, with so excellent a religion; had he endeavoured to own

and propagate it as he should have done, not only for the good of his Kingdom, but of all the Reformed Churches in Christendom, now weakened and near ruined through our remissness and suffering them to be supplanted, persecuted, and destroyed, as in France, which we took no notice of. The consequence of this, time will show, and I wish it may proceed no further. The emissaries and instruments of the Church of Rome will never rest till they have crushed the Church of England, as knowing that alone to be able to cope with them, and that they can never answer her fairly, but lie abundantly open to the irresistible force of her arguments, antiquity and purity of her doctrine, so that albeit it may move God, for the punishment of a nation so unworthy, to eclipse again the profession of her here, and darkness and superstition prevail, I am most confident the doctrine of the Church of England will never be extinguished, but remain visible, if not eminent, to the consummation of the world. I have innumerable reasons that confirm me in this opinion, which I forbear to mention here.

In the meantime, as to the discourse of his Majesty with Mr. Pepys, and those papers, as I do exceedingly prefer his Majesty's free and ingenuous profession of what his own religion is, beyond concealment upon any politic accounts, so I think him of a most sincere and honest nature, one on whose word one may rely, and that he makes a conscience of what he promises, to perform it. In this confidence, I hope that the Church of England may yet subsist, and when it shall please God to open his eyes and turn his heart (for that is peculiarly in the Lord's hands) to flourish also. In all events, whatever do become of the Church of England, it is certainly, of all the Christian professions on the earth, the most primitive, apostolical, and excellent.

8th October. I had my picture drawn this week by the famous Kneller.¹

14th. I went to London about finishing my lodgings at Whitehall.

15th. Being the King's birthday, there was a solemn ball at Court, and before it music of instruments and voices. I happened by accident to stand the very next to the Queen and the King, who talked with me about the music.

18th. The King was now building all that range from east to west by the court and garden to the street, and making a new chapel for the Queen, whose lodgings were to be in this new building, as also a new Council-chamber and offices next the south end of the Banqueting-house. I returned home, next morning, to London.

22nd. I accompanied my Lady Clarendon to her house at Swallowfield,² in Berks, dining by the way at Mr. Graham's lodge at Bagshot;³ the house, new repaired and capacious enough for a good family, stands in a park.

Hence, we went to Swallowfield; this house is after the ancient building of honourable gentlemen's houses, when they kept up ancient hospitality, but the gardens and waters as elegant as it is possible to make a flat by art and industry, and no mean expense, my lady being so extraordinarily

¹ A copy of Thomas Bragg's engraving of this portrait, now at Wotton House, forms the frontispiece to volume iii. of the present edition.

² Sir William Backhouse died seised of the manor of Swallowfield, in 1669. His widow, Flower, daughter and heiress of Mr. William Backhouse, d. 1662, married Henry Hyde, Viscount Cornbury, afterwards second Earl of Clarendon (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 214), who thus became possessed of this estate. [There is a charming and exhaustive account of *Swallowfield and its Owners*, by Lady Russell, 1901, which contains an interesting letter from Lady Clarendon to Evelyn.]

³ See *ante*, p. 175. Mr. Graham was Keeper and Ranger of Bagshot.

skilled in the flowery part, and my lord, in diligence of planting; so that I have hardly seen a seat which shows more tokens of it than what is to be found here, not only in the delicious and rarest fruits of a garden, but in those innumerable timber trees in the ground about the seat, to the greatest ornament and benefit of the place. There is one orchard of 1000 golden, and other cider pippins; walks and groves of elms, limes, oaks, and other trees. The garden is so beset with all manner of sweet shrubs, that it perfumes the air. The distribution also of the quarters, walks, and parterres, is excellent. The nurseries, kitchen-garden full of the most desirable plants; two very noble orangeries well furnished; but, above all, the canal and fish ponds, the one fed with a white, the other with a black running water, fed by a quick and swift river, so well and plentifully stored with fish, that for pike, carp, bream, and tench, I never saw anything approaching it. We had at every meal carp and pike, of a size fit for the table of a Prince, and what added to the delight was, to see the hundreds taken by the drag, out of which, the cook standing by, we pointed out what we had most mind to, and had carp that would have been worth at London twenty shillings a-piece. The waters are flagged about with *Calamus aromaticus*, with which my lady has hung a closet, that retains the smell very perfectly. There is also a certain sweet willow and other exotics; also a very fine bowling-green, meadow, pasture, and wood: in a word, all that can render a country-seat delightful. There is besides a well-furnished library in the house.

26th October. We returned to London, having been treated with all sorts of cheer and noble freedom by that most religious and virtuous lady. She was now preparing to go for Ireland with

her husband, made Lord-Deputy,¹ and went to this country-house and ancient seat of her father and family, to set things in order during her absence; but never were good people and neighbours more concerned than all the country (the poor especially) for the departure of this charitable woman; every one was in tears, and she as unwilling to part from them. There was amongst them a maiden of primitive life, the daughter of a poor labouring man, who had sustained her parents (some time since dead) by her labour, and has for many years refused marriage, or to receive any assistance from the parish, besides the little hermitage my lady gives her rent-free; she lives on fourpence a-day, which she gets by spinning; says she abounds and can give alms to others, living in great humility and content, without any apparent affectation, or singularity; she is continually working, praying, or reading, gives a good account of her knowledge in religion, visits the sick; is not in the least given to talk; very modest, of a simple, not unseemly behaviour; of a comely countenance, clad very plain, but clean and tight. In sum, she appears a saint of an extraordinary sort, in so religious a life, as is seldom met with in villages nowadays.

28th October. At the Royal Society, an urn full of bones was presented, dug up in a highway, whilst repairing it, in a field in Camberwell, in Surrey; it was found entire with its cover, amongst many others, believed to be truly Roman and ancient.

Sir Richard Bulkeley² described to us a model of a chariot he had invented, which it was not possible to overthrow in whatever uneven way it was drawn, giving us a wonderful relation of what it had performed in that kind, for ease, expedition,

¹ [Lord Clarendon was Viceroy of Ireland, 1685-86.]

² [Sir Richard Bulkeley, 1644-1710.]

and safety ; there were some inconveniences yet to be remedied—it would not contain more than one person ; was ready to take fire every ten miles ; and being placed and playing on no fewer than ten rollers, it made a most prodigious noise, almost intolerable. A remedy was to be sought for these inconveniences.

29th October. I was invited to dine at Sir Stephen Fox's with my Lord-Lieutenant,¹ where was such a dinner for variety of all things as I had seldom seen, and it was so for the trial of a master-cook whom Sir Stephen had recommended to go with his Lordship into Ireland ; there were all the dainties not only of the season, but of what art could add, venison, plain solid meat, fowl, baked and boiled meats, banquet [dessert], in exceeding plenty, and exquisitely dressed. There also dined my Lord Ossory and Lady (the Duke of Beaufort's daughter), my Lady Treasurer, Lord Cornbury,² and other visitors.

31st. I dined at our great Lord Chancellor Jeffreys', who used me with much respect. This was the late Chief-Justice who had newly been the Western Circuit to try the Monmouth conspirators, and had formerly done such severe justice amongst the obnoxious in Westminster Hall, for which his Majesty dignified him by creating him first a Baron, and now Lord Chancellor.³ He had some years past been conversant at Deptford ; is of an assured and undaunted spirit, and has served the Court interest on all the hardest occasions ; is of nature cruel, and a slave of the Court.

8rd November. The French persecution of the Protestants raging with the utmost barbarity,

¹ [Lord Clarendon.]

² [Edward, Lord Cornbury, grandson of the Chancellor, and afterwards third Earl of Clarendon, d. 1723.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 175.]

exceeded even what the very heathens used: innumerable persons of the greatest birth and riches leaving all their earthly substance, and hardly escaping with their lives, dispersed through all the countries of Europe. The French tyrant abrogated the Edict of Nantes which had been made in favour of them, and without any cause;¹ on a sudden demolishing all their churches, banishing, imprisoning, and sending to the galleys² all the ministers; plundering the common people, and exposing them to all sorts of barbarous usage by soldiers sent to ruin and prey on them; taking away their children; forcing people to the Mass, and then executing them as relapsers; they burnt their libraries, pillaged their goods, eat up their fields and substance, banished or sent the people to the galleys, and seized on their estates. There had now been numbered to pass through Geneva only (and that by stealth, for all the usual passages were strictly guarded by sea and land) 40,000 towards Switzerland. In Holland, Denmark, and all about Germany, were dispersed some hundred thousands; besides those in England, where, though multitudes of all degree sought for shelter and welcome as distressed Christians and confessors, they found least encouragement, by a fatality of the times we were fallen into, and the uncharitable indifference of such as should have embraced them; and I pray it be not laid to our charge.³ The

¹ [The "perpetual and irrevocable" Edict of Nantes, 1598, was revoked 12th October, 1685.]

² [Cf. the exceedingly interesting *Memoirs* of Jean Marteilhe of Bergerac, "Condemned to the Galleys of France, for His Religion," 1757, translated in 1758 by Oliver Goldsmith; also the excellent *Forçats pour la Foi* of M. Athanase Coquerel, Fils, 1866.]

³ ["The bulk of the Protestant population disappeared for ever out of France; in the course of time 400,000 effected their escape, settling in large numbers in England, Brandenburg, and Holland" (Trevelyan's *England under the Stuarts*, 1904, p. 439).]

famous Claude¹ fled to Holland; Allix² and several more came to London, and persons of great estates came over, who had forsaken all. France was almost dispeopled, the bankers so broken that the tyrant's revenue was exceedingly diminished, manufactures ceased, and everybody there, save the Jesuits, abhorred what was done, nor did the Papists themselves approve it. What the further intention is, time will show; but doubtless portending some revolution.

I was showed the harangue which the Bishop of Valentia on Rhone made in the name of the Clergy, celebrating the French King, as if he was a God, for persecuting the poor Protestants,³ with this expression in it, "That as his victory over heresy was greater than all the conquests of Alexander and Cæsar, it was but what was wished in England; and that God seemed to raise the French King to this power and magnanimous action, that he might be in capacity to assist in

¹ John Claude, 1619-87, a celebrated French Protestant minister, and a distinguished controversial writer; who, at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, was ordered to quit France in four-and-twenty hours. One of his books was burned, by the direction of James II., by the hangman, in the Old Exchange, on 5th May, 1686.

² Mr. Peter Allix, 1641-1717, a minister of the Reformed Church at Charenton, came over with his whole family, and met with great encouragement here. He was the author of several learned discourses in defence of Protestantism. His eldest son, John Peter Allix, became a Doctor of Divinity, and, after passing through different preferments, was in 1730 made Dean of Ely, died in 1758, and was buried in his church of Castle Camps in Cambridgeshire.

³ [Cf. Bossuet:—"Touched with so many marvels, let our hearts go out to the piety of Louis. Let us raise praises to Heaven and say . . . 'Heresy is no more. God alone could have done so marvellous a thing. King of Heaven, preserve the King of the earth, it is the prayer of the churches; it is the prayer of the Bishops'" (*Oraisons funèbres*, 1874, p. 219—as translated in Trevelyan's *England under the Stuarts*, 1904, p. 439).]

doing the same here." This paragraph is very bold and remarkable; several reflecting on Archbishop Ussher's prophecy as now begun in France, and approaching the orthodox in all other reformed churches. One thing was much taken notice of, that the Gazettes which were still constantly printed twice a week, informing us what was done all over Europe, never spake of this wonderful proceeding in France; nor was any relation of it published by any, save what private letters and the persecuted fugitives brought. Whence this silence, I list not to conjecture; but it appeared very extraordinary in a Protestant country that we should know nothing of what Protestants suffered, whilst great collections were made for them in foreign places, more hospitable and Christian to appearance.

5th November. It being an extraordinary wet morning, and myself indisposed by a very great rheum, I did not go to church, to my very great sorrow, it being the first Gunpowder Conspiracy anniversary that had been kept now these eighty years under a prince of the Roman religion. Bonfires were forbidden on this day; what does this portend!

9th. Began the Parliament. The King in his speech required continuance of a standing force instead of a militia, and indemnity and dispensation to Popish officers from the Test; demands very unexpected and displeasing to the Commons. He also required a supply of revenue, which they granted; but returned no thanks to the King for his speech, till further consideration.

12th. The Commons postponed finishing the bill for the Supply, to consider the Test, and Popish officers; this was carried but by one voice.

14th. I dined at Lambeth, my Lord Archbishop¹

¹ [Dr. Sancroft.]

carrying me with him in his barge; there were my Lord-Deputy of Ireland, the Bishops of Ely and St. Asaph, Dr. Sherlock,¹ and other divines; Sir William Hayward, Sir Paul Rycaut,² etc.

20th November. The Parliament was adjourned to February, several both of Lords and Commons excepting against some passage of his Majesty's speech relating to the Test, and continuance of Popish officers in command. This was a great surprise in a parliament which people believed would have complied in all things.

Popish pamphlets and pictures sold publicly; no books nor answers to them appearing till long after.

21st. I resigned my trust for composing a difference between Mr. Thynne and his wife.

22nd. Hitherto was a very wet warm season.

4th December. Lord Sunderland was declared President of the Council, and yet to hold his Secretary's place. The forces disposed into several quarters through the kingdom are very insolent, on which are great complaints.

Lord Brandon, tried for the late conspiracy, was condemned and pardoned;³ so was Lord Grey, his accuser and witness.⁴

Persecution in France raging, the French insolently visit our vessels, and take away the fugitive Protestants; some escape in barrels.

10th. To Greenwich, being put into the new Commission of Sewers.

18th. Dr. Patrick,⁵ Dean of Peterborough, preached at Whitehall, before the Princess of

¹ [Dr. William Sherlock, 1641-1707; Master of the Temple, 1685-1704.]

² [Sir Paul Rycaut, 1628-1700, author of the *Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, 1668, etc. He was an F.R.S., and in this year Judge of Admiralty in Ireland.]

³ [Charles Gerard, Lord Brandon, 1659-1701, afterwards second Earl of Macclesfield.]

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 101.]

⁵ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 292.]

Denmark; who, since his Majesty came to the Crown, always sat in the King's closet, and had the same bowings and ceremonies applied to the place where she was, as his Majesty had when there in person.

Dining at Mr. Pepys's, Dr. Slayer showed us an experiment of a wonderful nature, pouring first a very cold liquor into a glass, and super-fusing on it another, to appearance cold and clear liquor also; it first produced a white cloud, then boiling, divers coruscations and actual flames of fire mingled with the liquor, which being a little shaken together, fixed divers suns and stars of real fire, perfectly globular, on the sides of the glass, and which there stuck like so many constellations, burning most vehemently, and resembling stars and heavenly bodies, and that for a long space. It seemed to exhibit a theory of the eduction of light out of the chaos, and the fixing or gathering of the universal light into luminous bodies. This matter, or phosphorus, was made out of human blood and urine, elucidating the vital flame, or heat, in animal bodies. A very noble experiment!

16th December. I accompanied my Lord-Lieutenant as far as St. Albans, there going out of town with him near 200 coaches of all the great officers and nobility. The next morning taking leave, I returned to London.

18th. I dined at the great entertainment his Majesty gave the Venetian Ambassadors, Signors Zenno and Justiniani, accompanied with ten more noble Venetians of their most illustrious families, Cornaro, Mocenigo, etc., who came to congratulate their Majesties coming to the Crown. The dinner was most magnificent and plentiful, at four tables, with music, kettle-drums, and trumpets, which sounded upon a whistle at every health. The banquet [dessert] was twelve vast chargers piled up

so high that those who sat one against another could hardly see each other. Of these sweetmeats, which doubtless were some days piling up in that exquisite manner, the Ambassadors touched not, but leaving them to the spectators who came out of curiosity to see the dinner, were exceedingly pleased to see in what a moment of time all that curious work was demolished, the comfitures voided, and the tables cleared. Thus his Majesty entertained them three days, which (for the table only) cost him £600, as the Clerk of the Green Cloth (Sir William Boreman) assured me. Dinner ended, I saw their procession, or cavalcade, to Whitehall, innumerable coaches attending. The two Ambassadors had four coaches of their own, and fifty footmen (as I remember), besides other equipage as splendid as the occasion would permit, the Court being still in mourning. Thence, I went to the audience which they had in the Queen's presence-chamber, the Banqueting-house being full of goods and furniture till the galleries on the garden-side, council-chamber, and new chapel, now in building, were finished. They went to their audience in those plain black gowns and caps which they constantly wear in the city of Venice. I was invited to have accompanied the two Ambassadors in their coach to supper that night, returning now to their own lodgings, as no longer at the King's expense; but, being weary, I excused myself.

19th December. My Lord Treasurer made me dine with him, where I became acquainted with Monsieur Barrillon,¹ the French Ambassador, a learned and crafty advocate.

¹ [Paul Barrillon d'Amoncourt, Marquis de Branges. He succeeded Honoré Courtin as Ambassador. It was the despatches of Barrillon which revealed the bribes received by Charles II. and his ministers from France.]

20th December. Dr. Turner,¹ brother to the Bishop of Ely,² and sometime tutor to my son, preached at Whitehall on Mark viii. 38, concerning the submission of Christians to their persecutors, in which were some passages indiscreet enough, considering the time, and the rage of the inhuman French tyrant against the poor Protestants.

22nd. Our patent for executing the office of Privy Seal during the absence of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, being this day sealed by the Lord Chancellor, we went afterwards to St. James's, where the Court then was on occasion of building at Whitehall; his Majesty delivered the seal to my Lord Teviot³ and myself, the other Commissioner not being come, and then gave us his hand to kiss. There were the two Venetian Ambassadors and a world of company; amongst the rest the first Popish Nuncio⁴ that had been in England since the Reformation; so wonderfully were things changed, to the universal jealousy.

24th. We were all three Commissioners sworn on our knees by the Clerk of the Crown, before my Lord Chancellor, three several oaths; allegiance, supremacy, and the oath belonging to the Lord Privy Seal, which last we took standing. After this, the Lord Chancellor invited us all to dinner, but it being Christmas-eve we desired to be excused, intending at three in the afternoon to seal divers things which lay ready at the office; so attended by three of the Clerks of the Signet, we met and sealed. Amongst other things was a pardon to West, who, being privy to the late

¹ [Dr. Thomas Turner, 1645-1714, afterwards President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; at this date Archdeacon of Essex, and Canon of St. Paul's.]

² [Francis Turner (see *ante*, p. 98).]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 208; and *post*, p. 310.]

⁴ Count D'Adda, made afterwards a Cardinal for his services in this embassy. There is a good mezzotinto print of him.

conspiracy, had revealed the accomplices to save his own neck. There were also another pardon and two indenizations;¹ and so agreeing to a fortnight's vacation, I returned home.

31st December. Recollecting the passages of the year past, and having made up accounts, humbly besought Almighty God to pardon those my sins which had provoked him to discompose my sorrowful family; that he would accept of our humiliation, and in his good time restore comfort to it. I also blessed God for all his undeserved mercies and preservations, begging the continuance of his grace and preservation. — The winter had hitherto been extraordinary wet and mild.

1685-86: *1st January.* Imploring the continuance of God's providential care for the year now entered, I went to the public devotions. The Dean of the Chapel and Clerk of the Closet put out, viz. Bishop of London² and . . ., and Rochester³ and Durham⁴ put in their places; the former had opposed the toleration intended, and shown a worthy zeal for the reformed religion as established.

6th. I dined with the Archbishop of York, where was Peter Walsh,⁵ that Romish priest so well known for his moderation, professing the Church of England to be a true member of the Catholic Church. He is used to go to our public prayers without scruple, and did not acknowledge the Pope's infallibility, only primacy of order.

19th. Passed the Privy Seal, amongst others, the creation of Mrs. Sedley⁶ (concubine to —)

¹ [Indenization = the process of making a denizen (O.E.D.).]

² [Dr. Compton (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 299).]

³ [Dr. Sprat (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 300).]

⁴ [Dr. Nathaniel Crew, 1633-1722.]

⁵ [Peter Walsh, or Valesius, 1618-88, an Irish Franciscan, and controversialist.]

⁶ See *ante*, p. 16. Catherine Sedley, 1657-1717, daughter of Sir Charles Sedley, Bart., one of the famous knot of wits and

Countess of Dorchester, which the Queen took very grievously, so as for two dinners, standing near her, I observed she hardly eat one morsel, nor spake one word to the King, or to any about her, though at other times she used to be extremely pleasant, full of discourse and good humour. The Roman Catholics were also very angry; because they had so long valued the sanctity of their religion and proselytes.

Dryden, the famous play-writer,¹ and his two sons, and Mrs. Nelly² (miss³ to the late ——) were said to go to mass; such proselytes were no great loss to the Church.

This night was burnt to the ground my Lord Montagu's palace in Bloomsbury,⁴ than which for painting and furniture there was nothing more glorious in England. This happened by the negligence of a servant airing, as they call it, some of the goods by the fire in a moist season; indeed,

courtiers of King Charles's time. He was also a poet, and wrote some dramatic pieces. The Countess had a daughter by King James II., and was afterwards married to David, Earl of Portmore, by whom she had two sons. Lord Dorset's well-known verses, "Tell me, Dorinda, why so gay," etc., are addressed to this lady. Her father's sarcasm, when he voted for filling up the vacant throne with the Prince and Princess of Orange, is well known: "King James made my daughter a Countess, and I have been helping to make his daughter a Queen."

¹ [In Birkbeck Hill's admirable edition of Johnson's *Poets*, 1905, i. 376-77, a note suggests that Evelyn antedated Dryden's conversion; and cites the following anecdote: "The Bishop of Carlisle wrote on Jan. 27, 1686-87, that Mr. Finch, the new Warden of All Souls, an ingenious young gentleman, lately meeting with Mr. Dryden in a coffee-house in London, publicly before all the company wished him much joy of his *new* religion. 'Sir,' said Dryden, 'you are very much mistaken; my religion is the *old* religion.' 'Nay,' replied the other, 'whatever it be in itself I am sure 'tis new to you, for within these 3 days you had no religion at all'" (Le Fleming MSS., *Hist. MSS. Comm.* Report xii. App. 7, p. 202).]

² [See *ante*, p. 140.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 181.]

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 38.]

so wet and mild a season had scarce been seen in man's memory.

At this Seal there also passed the creation of Sir Henry Waldegrave¹ to be a Peer. He had married one of the King's natural daughters by Mrs. Churchill. These two Seals my brother Commissioners passed in the morning before I came to town, at which I was not displeased. We likewise passed Privy Seals for £276,000 upon several accounts, pensions, guards, wardrobes, privy purse, etc., besides divers pardons, and one more which I must not forget (and which by Providence I was not present at), one Mr. Lytcott to be Secretary to the Ambassador to Rome. We being three Commissioners, any two were a quorum.

21st January. I dined at my Lady Arlington's, Groom of the Stole to the Queen Dowager, at Somerset House, where dined the Countesses of Devonshire, Dover, etc.; in all eleven ladies of quality, no man but myself being there.

24th. Unheard-of cruelties to the persecuted Protestants of France, such as hardly any age has seen the like, even among the Pagans.

6th February. Being the day on which his Majesty began his reign, by order of Council it was to be solemnised with a particular office and sermon, which the Bishop of Ely² preached at Whitehall on Numb. xi. 12; a Court oration upon the Regal Office. It was much wondered at, that this day, which was that of his late Majesty's death, should be kept as a festival, and not [instead of] the day of the present King's coronation. It is said to have

¹ He was the fourth Baronet, and died at Paris in 1689. He was created Baron Waldegrave, 30th January, 1686, being at that time Comptroller of the King's Household. [His wife was Henrietta, James's natural daughter by Arabella Churchill.]

² Dr. Francis Turner (see *ante*, p. 195).'

been formerly the custom, though not till now since the reign of King James I.

The Duchess of Monmouth,¹ being in the same seat with me at church, appeared with a very sad and afflicted countenance.

8th February. I took the Test in Westminster Hall, before the Lord Chief-Justice.² I now came to lodge at Whitehall, in the Lord Privy Seal's lodgings.

12th. My great Cause was heard by my Lord Chancellor, who granted me a re-hearing. I had six eminent lawyers, my antagonist three, whereof one was the smooth-tongued Solicitor,³ whom my Lord Chancellor reproved in great passion for a very small occasion. Blessed be God for his great goodness to me this day!

19th. Many bloody and notorious duels were fought about this time. The Duke of Grafton⁴ killed Mr. Stanley, brother to the Earl of [Derby], indeed upon an almost insufferable provocation. It is to be hoped that his Majesty will at last severely remedy this unchristian custom.

Lord Sunderland was now Secretary of State, President of the Council, and Premier-Minister.

1st March. Came Sir Gilbert Gerrard to treat with me about his son's marrying my daughter, Susanna. The father being obnoxious, and in some suspicion and displeasure of the King, I would receive no proposal till his Majesty had given me leave, which he was pleased to do; but after several meetings we brake off, on his not being willing to secure any thing competent for my daughter's children; besides that I found most of his estate was in the coal-pits as far off as Newcastle, and on leases from the Bishop of Durham,

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 355.]

² [Sir Edward Herbert. See *post*, p. 207.]

³ Heneage Finch, 1647-1719, Solicitor-General, called *Silver Tongue*, from his manner of speaking. [He was afterwards first Earl of Aylesford.]

⁴ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 350.]

who had power to make concurrent leases, with other difficulties.

7th March. Dr. Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester,¹ preached on Psalm xliv. 17, 18, 19, showing the several afflictions of the Church of Christ from the primitives to this day, applying exceedingly to the present conjuncture, when many were wavering in their minds, and great temptations appearing through the favour now found by the Papists, so as the people were full of jealousies and discouragement. The Bishop magnified the Church of England, exhorting to constancy and perseverance.

10th. A Council of the Royal Society about disposing of Dr. Ray's book of Fishes, which was printed at the expense of the Society.²

12th. A docket was to be sealed, importing a lease of twenty-one years to one Hall, who styled himself his Majesty's printer (he lately turned Papist) for the printing Missals, Offices, Lives of Saints, Portals, Primers, etc., books expressly forbidden to be printed or sold, by divers Acts of Parliament; I refused to put my seal to it, making my exceptions, so it was laid by.

14th. The Bishop of Bath and Wells³ preached on John vi. 17, a most excellent and pathetic discourse: after he had recommended the duty of fasting and other penitential duties, he exhorted to constancy in the Protestant religion, detestation of the unheard-of cruelties of the French, and stirring up to a liberal contribution. This sermon was the more acceptable, as it was unexpected from a Bishop who had undergone the censure of being inclined

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 339.]

² John Ray, 1627-1705, the celebrated botanist and zoologist. He was a liberal contributor to the *Transactions* of the Royal Society, of which he was elected a fellow in 1667. [The *Historia Piscium*, folio, 1686, was based upon the material left by his friend and pupil, Francis Willughby, 1635-72.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 140.]

to Popery, the contrary whereof no man could show more. This indeed did all our Bishops, to the disabusing and reproach of all their delators; for none were more zealous against Popery than they were.

16th March. I was at a review of the army about London, in Hyde Park, about 6000 horse and foot, in excellent order; his Majesty and infinity of people being present.

17th. I went to my house in the country, refusing to be present at what was to pass at the Privy Seal the next day. In the morning, Dr. Tenison¹ preached an incomparable discourse at Whitehall, on Timothy ii. 3, 4.

24th. Dr. Cradock² (Provost of Eton) preached at the same place on Psalm xlix. 13, showing the vanity of earthly enjoyments.

28th. Dr. White,³ Bishop of Peterborough, preached in a very eloquent style, on Matthew xxvi. 29, submission to the will of God on all accidents, and at all times.

29th. The Duke of Northumberland (a natural son of the late King by the Duchess of Cleveland), marrying very meanly, with the help of his brother Grafton, attempted in vain to spirit away his wife.

A Brief was read in all churches for relieving the French Protestants, who came here for protection from the unheard-of cruelties of the King.

2nd April. Sir Edward Hales, a Papist, made Governor of Dover Castle.⁴

¹ [See *ante*, p. 59.]

² [See *ante*, p. 35.]

³ [Dr. Thomas White, 1628-98. He was one of the Bishops who petitioned against the second Declaration of Indulgence.]

⁴ "Not taking the Test," Burnet tells us, "his coachman was set up to inform against him, and to claim the 500*l.* that the law gave to the informer. When this was to be brought to trial, the Judges were secretly asked their opinions: And such as were not clear to judge as the Court did direct were turned out" (*History of His Own Time*, 1724, i. p. 669). Half of them were dismissed.

15th April. The Archbishop of York¹ now died of the small-pox, aged 62, a corpulent man. He was my special loving friend, and whilst Bishop of Rochester (from whence he was translated) my excellent neighbour. He was an inexpressible loss to the whole church, and that Province especially, being a learned, wise, stout, and most worthy prelate; I look on this as a great stroke to the poor Church of England, now in this defecting period.

18th. In the afternoon I went to Camberwell, to visit Dr. Parr.² After sermon, I accompanied him to his house, where he showed me the Life and Letters of the late learned Primate of Armagh (Ussher), and among them that letter of Bishop Bramhall's to the Primate, giving notice of the Popish practices to pervert this nation, by sending a hundred priests into England, who were to conform themselves to all sectaries and conditions for the more easily dispersing their doctrine amongst us. This letter was the cause of the whole impression being seized, upon pretence that it was a political or historical account of things not relating to theology, though it had been licensed by the Bishop; which plainly showed what an interest the Papists now had,—that a Protestant book, containing the life and letters of so eminent a man, was not to be published. There were also many letters to and from most of the learned persons his correspondents in Europe. The book will, I doubt not, struggle through this unjust impediment.

Several Judges were put out, and new complying ones put in.

25th. This day was read in our church the Brief for a collection for relief of the Protestant

¹ Dr. John Dolben [see *ante*, p. 107].

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 338.]

³ [Parr's *Life of James, Archbishop of Armagh*, was published in this year.]

French so cruelly, barbarously, and inhumanly oppressed without anything being laid to their charge. It had been long expected, and at last with difficulty procured to be published, the interest of the French Ambassador obstructing it.

5th May. There being a Seal, it was feared we should be required to pass a docket dispensing with Dr. Obadiah Walker¹ and four more, whereof one was an apostate curate of Putney,² the others officers of University College, Oxford, who hold their masterships, fellowships, and cures, and keep public schools, and enjoy all former emoluments, notwithstanding they no more frequented or used the public forms of prayers, or communion, with the Church of England, or took the Test or oaths of allegiance and supremacy, contrary to twenty Acts of Parliament; which dispensation being also contrary to his Majesty's own gracious declaration at the beginning of his reign, gave umbrage (as well it might) to every good Protestant; nor could we safely have passed it under the Privy Seal, wherefore it was done by immediate warrant, signed by Mr. Solicitor.

This Walker was a learned person, of a monkish life, to whose tuition I had more than thirty years since recommended the sons of my worthy friend, Mr. Hillyard, of Horsley in Surrey,³ believing him to be far from what he proved—a hypocritical concealed Papist—by which he perverted the eldest son of Mr. Hillyard, Sir Edward Hales's eldest son, and several more, to the great disturbance of the whole nation, as well as of the University, as by his now public defection appeared. All engines

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 9.]

² Edward Sclater, 1623-99; who first apostatised from Protestantism, on the King's accession, and then, in 1688, read his recantation from Popery, and again became a Protestant.

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 47.]

being now at work to bring in Popery, which God in mercy prevent!

This day was burnt in the old Exchange, by the common hangman, a translation of a book written by the famous Monsieur Claude, relating only matters of fact concerning the horrid massacres and barbarous proceedings of the French King against his Protestant subjects,¹ without any refutation of any facts therein; so mighty a power and ascendant here had the French Ambassador, who was doubtless in great indignation at the pious and truly generous charity of all the nation, for the relief of those miserable sufferers who came over for shelter.

About this time also, the Duke of Savoy, instigated by the French King to extirpate the Protestants of Piedmont, slew many thousands of those innocent people, so that there seemed to be an universal design to destroy all that would not go to mass, throughout Europe. *Quod Avertat D. O. M.!* No faith in Princes!

12th May. I refused to put the Privy Seal to Doctor Walker's license for printing and publishing divers Popish books, of which I complained both to my Lord of Canterbury (with whom I went to advise in the Council-Chamber), and to my Lord Treasurer that evening at his lodgings. My Lord of Canterbury's advice² was, that I should follow my own conscience therein; Mr. Treasurer's, that if in conscience I could dispense with it, for any other hazard he believed there was none. Notwithstanding this, I persisted in my refusal.

29th. There was no sermon on this anniversary,

¹ [See *ante*, p. 189. The book was that entitled *Complaints of the Cruel Treatment of the Protestants in France*, London, 1686, 8vo.]

² Dr. Sancroft. Burnet describes him as a timid man (*History of His Own Time*, 1734, ii. p. 135). See also *ante*, p. 140.

as there usually had been ever since the reign of the present King.

2nd June. Such storms, rain, and foul weather, seldom known at this time of the year. The camp at Hounslow Heath, from sickness and other inconveniences of weather, forced to retire to quarters; the storms being succeeded by excessive hot weather, many grew sick. Great feasting there, especially in Lord Dunbarton's quarters.¹ There were many jealousies and discourses of what was the meaning of this encampment.²

A seal this day; mostly pardons and discharges of Knight-Baronets' fees, which having been passed over for so many years, did greatly disoblige several families who had served his Majesty. Lord Tyrconnel³ gone to Ireland, with great powers and commissions, giving as much cause of talk as the camp, especially nineteen new Privy-Councillors and Judges being now made, amongst which but three Protestants, and Tyrconnel made General.

New Judges also here, among which was Milton,⁴ a Papist (brother to that Milton⁵ who wrote for the Regicides), who presumed to take his place without passing the Test. Scotland refused to grant liberty of mass to the Papists there.

¹ [George Douglas, Earl of Dunbarton, 1638-92. He had suppressed Argyll's rising (see *ante*, p. 163).]

² [It consisted of 13,000 men. But the soldiers were, by no means hostile to the populace, and the camp of Hounslow became, in Macaulay's words, "merely a gay suburb of the capital" (ch. vi.).]

³ [Richard Talbot, 1630-91, Earl, and afterwards Duke of Tyrconnel. He succeeded Clarendon as Viceroy of Ireland in 1687.]

⁴ Sir Christopher Milton, 1615-93, made a Baron of the Exchequer. He did not hold his office long. ["His constitution being too weak for business"—says Johnson—"he retired before any disreputable compliances became necessary" (*Lives of the Poets*, Birkbeck Hill's edition, 1905, i. 85).]

⁵ ["That Milton" is the author of *Paradise Lost*.]

The French persecution more inhuman than ever. The Protestants in Savoy successfully resist the French dragoons sent to murder them.

The King's chief physician in Scotland apostatising from the Protestant religion, does of his own accord publish his recantation at Edinburgh.¹

11th June. I went to see Myddelton's² receptacle of water at the New River, and the new Spa Wells near.³

20th. An extraordinary season of violent and sudden rain. The camp still in tents.

24th. My Lord-Treasurer settled my great business with Mr. Pretymen,⁴ to which I hope God will at last give a prosperous issue.

25th. Now his Majesty, beginning with Dr. Sharp⁵ and Tully,⁶ proceeded to silence and suspend divers excellent divines for preaching against Popery.

¹ Burnet informs us in his *History of His Own Time*, 1724, i. p. 679, that this Sir Robert Sibbald, "the most learned antiquary in Scotland, who had lived in a course of philosophical virtue, but in great doubt as to revealed religion, was prevailed upon by the Earl of *Perth* to turn Papist"; but he soon became ashamed of having done so, on so little inquiry. Upon this he proceeded to London for some months, retiring from all company, and underwent a deep course of study, by which he came to see into the errors of Popery. He then returned to Scotland, and published, as Evelyn tells us, his recantation openly in a church.

² [Sir Hugh Myddelton, 1560-1631. His artificial New River, for supplying the city of London with water, was opened 29th September, 1620.]

³ [*I.e.* "Sadler's New Tunbridge Wells," Clerkenwell, afterwards known as "Sadler's Wells," opened c. 1684.]

⁴ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 3, and p. 101.]

⁵ Dr. John Sharp, 1645-1714, Dean of Norwich, famous for having been one of the first victims to the intolerance of James II., who caused him to be suspended for preaching against Popery. After the Revolution he was made Dean of Canterbury, and subsequently Archbishop of York.

⁶ [George Tully, *d.* 1697, another champion of Protestantism whom James endeavoured to silence by persecution.]

27th June. I had this day been married thirty-nine years—blessed be God for all his mercies!

The new very young Lord Chief-Justice Herbert¹ declared on the bench, that the government of England was entirely in the King; that the Crown was absolute; that penal laws were powers lodged in the Crown to enable the King to force the execution of the law, but were not bars to bind the King's power; that he could pardon all offences against the law, and forgive the penalties, and why could he not dispense with them, by which the Test was abolished? Every one was astonished. Great jealousies as to what would be the end of these proceedings.

6th July. I supped with the Countess of Rochester, where was also the Duchess of Buckingham and Madame de Governè, whose daughter was married to the Marquis of Halifax's son. She made me a character of the French King and Dauphin, and of the persecution; that they kept much of the cruelties from the King's knowledge; that the Dauphin was so afraid of his father, that he durst not let anything appear of his sentiments; that he hated letters and priests, spent all his time in hunting, and seemed to take no notice of what was passing.

This lady was of a great family and fortune, and had fled hither for refuge.

8th. I waited on the Archbishop at Lambeth, where I dined and met the famous preacher and writer, Dr. Allix,² doubtless a most excellent and learned person. The Archbishop and he spoke Latin together, and that very readily.

11th. Dr. Meggot, Dean of Winchester,³ preached before the Household in St. George's Chapel at

¹ [Sir Edward Herbert, 1648-98, Chief Justice of King's Bench.]

² See *ante*, p. 190.

³ [See *ante*, p. 176.]

Windsor, the late King's glorious chapel now seized on by the mass-priests. Dr. Cartwright, Dean of Ripon,¹ preached before the great men of the Court in the same place.

We had now the sad news of the Bishop of Oxford's² death, an extraordinary loss to the poor Church at this time. Many candidates for his Bishopric and Deanery, Dr. Parker,³ South, Aldrich, etc. Dr. Walker⁴ (now apostatising) came to Court, and was doubtless very busy.

13th July. Note, that standing by the Queen at basset (cards), I observed that she was exceedingly concerned for the loss of £80; her outward affability much changed to stateliness, since she has been exalted.

The season very rainy and inconvenient for the camps. His Majesty very cheerful.

14th. Was sealed at our office the Constitution of certain Commissioners to take upon them full power of all Ecclesiastical affairs, in as unlimited a manner, or rather greater, than the late High Commission-Court, abrogated by Parliament; for it had not only faculty to inspect and visit all Bishops' dioceses, but to change what laws and statutes they should think fit to alter among the Colleges, though founded by private men; to punish, suspend, fine, etc., give oaths and call witnesses. The main drift was to suppress zealous preachers. In sum, it was the whole power of a Vicar-General—note the consequence! Of the Clergy the Commissioners were the Archbishop of Canterbury [Sancroft], Bishop of Durham [Crew], and Rochester [Sprat]; of the Temporals, the Lord

¹ [Dr. Thomas Cartwright, 1634-89, afterwards Bishop of Chester.]

² Dr. John Fell (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 169).

³ [Dr. Samuel Parker, 1640-88, obtained it (see *post*, under 23rd March, 1688.)

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 203.]

Treasurer, the Lord Chancellor [Jeffreys] (who alone was ever to be of the quorum), the Chief-Justice [Herbert], and Lord President [Earl of Sunderland].

18th July. I went to see Sir John Chardin, at Greenwich.¹

4th August. I dined at Signor Verrio's,² the famous Italian painter, now settled in his Majesty's garden at St. James's, which he had made a very delicious Paradise.

8th. Our vicar³ gone to dispose of his country living in Rutlandshire, having St. Dunstan in the East given him by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

I went to visit the Marquis Ruvigny, now my neighbour at Greenwich, retired from the persecution in France. He was the Deputy of all the Protestants of that kingdom in the Parliament of Paris, and several times Ambassador in this and other Courts; a person of great learning and experience.⁴

8th September. Dr. Compton, Bishop of London,⁵ was on Monday suspended, on pretence of not silencing Dr. Sharp of St. Giles's, for something of a sermon in which he zealously reprov'd the doctrine of the Roman Catholics. The Bishop having consulted the civilians, they told him he could not by any law proceed against Dr. Sharp without producing witnesses, and impleading according to form; but it was overruled by my Lord Chancellor, and the Bishop sentenced without so much as being heard to any purpose. This was

¹ [See *ante*, p. 51.]

² [See *ante*, p. 35.]

³ [Mr. Holden (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 355).]

⁴ His son, Henri de Massue de Ruvigny, second Marquis de Ruvigny, 1648-1720, was with King William in Ireland, and was made first Earl of Galway, but was dismissed through the violence of party, being a Frenchman, though his conduct had been in every respect unexceptionable (see *post*, p. 357).

⁵ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 299.]

thought a very extraordinary way of proceeding, and was universally resented, and so much the rather for that two Bishops, Durham¹ and Rochester,² sitting in the Commission and giving their suffrages, the Archbishop of Canterbury refused to sit amongst them. He was only suspended *ab officio*, and that was soon after taken off. He was brother to the Earl of Northampton, had once been a soldier, had travelled in Italy, but became a sober, grave, and excellent Prelate.

12th September. Buda now taken from the Turks; a form of Thanksgiving was ordered to be used in the (as yet remaining) Protestant chapels and church of Whitehall and Windsor.

The King of Denmark was besieging Hamburgh, no doubt by the French contrivance, to embroil the Protestant Princes in a new war, that Holland, etc., being engaged, matter for new quarrel might arise: the unheard-of persecution of the poor Protestants still raging more than ever.

22nd. The Danes retire from Hamburgh, the Protestant Princes appearing for their succour, and the Emperor sending his Minatories to the King of Denmark, and also requiring the restoration of the Duke of Saxe-Gotha. Thus it pleased God to defeat the French designs, which were evidently to kindle a new war.

14th October. His Majesty's birthday; I was at his rising in his bedchamber, afterwards in the park, where four companies of guards were drawn up. The officers, etc., wonderfully rich and gallant; they did not head their troops, but their next officers, the colonels being on horseback by the King whilst they marched. The ladies not less splendid at Court, where there was a ball at night; but small appearance of quality. All the shops both in the City and suburbs were shut up, and

¹ Crew.

² Sprat: he afterwards would not sit.

kept as solemnly as any holiday. Bonfires at night in Westminster, but forbidden in the City.

17th October. Dr. Patrick, Dean of Peterborough,¹ preached at Covent Garden Church on Ephes. v. 18, 19, showing the custom of the primitive saints in serving God with hymns, and their frequent use of them upon all occasions: perstringing² the profane way of mirth and intemperance of this ungodly age. Afterwards, I visited my Lord Chief-Justice of Ireland, with whom I had long and private discourse concerning the miserable condition that kingdom was like to be in, if Tyrconnel's counsel should prevail at Court.

23rd. Went with the Countess of Sunderland to Cranborne, a lodge and walk of my Lord Godolphin's in Windsor Park.³ There was one room in the house spared in the pulling down the old one, because the late Duchess of York was born in it; the rest was built and added to it by Sir George Carteret, Treasurer of the Navy; and since, the whole was purchased by my Lord Godolphin, who spake to me to go see it, and advise what trees were fit to be cut down to improve the dwelling, being environed with old rotten pollards, which corrupt the air. It stands on a knoll, which though insensibly rising, gives it a prospect over the Keep of Windsor, about three miles N.E. of it. The ground is clayey and moist; the water stark naught; the park is pretty; the house tolerable, and gardens convenient. After dinner, we came back to London, having two coaches both going and coming, of six horses apiece, which we changed at Hounslow.

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 292.]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 36.]

³ [One of the lodges built by Charles II. on the west side of the Park. It was eventually occupied by Nash the architect, and is now pulled down. In 1800 its tenant was the Duke of Gloucester. (See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 368.)]

24th October. Dr. Warren preached before the Princess at Whitehall, on 5th Matthew, of the blessedness of the pure in heart, most elegantly describing the bliss of the beatifical vision. In the afternoon, Sir George Wheler, Knight and Baronet, preached on the 4th Matt. upon the necessity of repentance, at St. Margaret's, an honest and devout discourse, and pretty tolerably performed. This gentleman coming from his travels out of Greece, fell in love with the daughter of Sir Thomas Higgins, his Majesty's resident at Venice, niece to the Earl of Bath, and married her. When they returned into England, being honoured with knighthood, he would needs turn preacher, and took orders. He published a learned and ingenious book of his travels, and is a very worthy person, a little formal and particular, but exceedingly devout.¹

27th. There was a triumphant show of the Lord Mayor both by land and water, with much solemnity, when yet his power has been so much diminished, by the loss of the City's former charter.

5th November. I went to St. Martin's in the morning, where Dr. Birch preached very boldly against the Papists, from John xvi. 2. In the afternoon, I heard Dr. Tillotson² in Lincoln's Inn chapel, on the same text, but more cautiously.

16th. I went with part of my family to pass the melancholy winter in London at my son's house in Arundel Buildings.

5th December. I dined at my Lady Arlington's, Groom of the Stole to the Queen Dowager, at Somerset House, where dined divers French noblemen, driven out of their country by the persecution.

16th. I carried the Countess of Sunderland to see the rarities of one Mr. Charlton in the Middle

¹ [See *ante*, p. 119.]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 291.]

Temple,¹ who showed us such a collection as I had never seen in all my travels abroad, either of private gentlemen, or princes. It consisted of miniatures, drawings, shells, insects, medals, natural things, animals (of which divers, I think 100, were kept in glasses of spirits of wine), minerals, precious stones, vessels, curiosities in amber, crystal, agate, etc.; all being very perfect and rare of their kind, especially his books of birds, fish, flowers, and shells, drawn and miniatures to the life. He told us that one book stood him in £300; it was painted by that excellent workman, whom the late Gaston, Duke of Orleans, employed. This gentleman's whole collection, gathered by himself, travelling over most parts of Europe, is estimated at £8000. He appeared to be a modest and obliging person.²

29th December. I went to hear the music of the Italians in the new chapel, now first opened publicly at Whitehall for the Popish Service.³ Nothing can be finer than the magnificent marble work and architecture at the end, where are four statues, representing St. John, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the Church, in white marble, the work of Mr. Gibbons, with all the carving and pillars of exquisite art and great cost. The altar-piece is the Salutation; the volto in *fresco*, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, according to their tradition, with our Blessed Saviour, and a world of figures painted by Verrio. The throne where the King and Queen

¹ [Thoresby in 1695 also visited "the ingenious Mr. Charlton's museum, who showed us a noble collection of Roman coins; he has very choice of the Emperors, but the vast number of the Family or Consular, was most surprising to me" (*Diary*, 1830, i. 298). He saw the collection again in October.]

² The Charlton collection was afterwards purchased by Sir Hans Sloane, and now forms part of the British Museum (see *post*, p. 284).

³ [It was burned down in January, 1698 (see *post*, p. 334, and note).]

sit is very glorious, in a closet above, just opposite to the altar. Here we saw the Bishop in his mitre and rich copes, with six or seven Jesuits and others in rich copes, sumptuously habited, often taking off and putting on the Bishop's mitre, who sat in a chair with arms pontifically, was adored and censed by three Jesuits in their copes; then he went to the altar and made divers cringes, then censuring the images and glorious tabernacle placed on the altar, and now and then changing place: the crosier, which was of silver, was put into his hand with a world of mysterious ceremony, the music playing, with singing. I could not have believed I should ever have seen such things in the King of England's palace, after it had pleased God to enlighten this nation; but our great sin has, for the present, eclipsed the blessing, which I hope He will in mercy and His good time restore to its purity.

Little appearance of any winter as yet.

1686-87: 1st *January*. Mr. Wake¹ preached at St. Martin's on 1 Tim. iii. 16, concerning the mystery of godliness. He wrote excellently, in answer to the Bishop of Meaux.

3rd. A Seal to confirm a gift of £4000 per annum for 99 years to the Lord Treasurer out of the Post-office, and £1700 per annum for ever out of Lord Gray's estate.

There was now another change of the great officers. The Treasury was put into commission, two professed Papists amongst them, viz. Lords Belasyse and Dover, joined with the old ones, Lord Godolphin, Sir Stephen Fox, and Sir John Ernley.

17th. Much expectation of several great men

¹ William III. recognised the services of William Wake, 1657-1737, in the cause of the Protestant Church of England, by presenting him with valuable preferments. He was King's Chaplain, Rector of St. James's, Westminster, Dean of Exeter, Bishop of Lincoln, and finally Archbishop of Canterbury.

declaring themselves Papists. Lord Tyrconnel¹ gone to succeed the Lord-Lieutenant [Clarendon] in Ireland, to the astonishment of all sober men, and to the evident ruin of the Protestants in that kingdom, as well as of its great improvement going on. Much discourse that all the White Staff officers and others should be dismissed for adhering to their religion. Popish Justices of the Peace established in all counties, of the meanest of the people; Judges ignorant of the law, and perverting it—so furiously do the Jesuits drive, and even compel Princes to violent courses, and destruction of an excellent government both in Church and State. God of His infinite mercy open our eyes, and turn our hearts, and establish His truth with peace! The Lord Jesus defend His little flock, and preserve this threatened church and nation!

24th January. I saw the Queen's new apartment at Whitehall, with her new bed, the embroidery of which cost £3000. The carving about the chimney-piece, by Gibbons, is incomparable.

30th. I heard the famous eunuch, Cifaccio, sing in the new Popish chapel this afternoon; it was indeed very rare, and with great skill. He came over from Rome, esteemed one of the best voices in Italy. Much crowding—little devotion.

27th February. Mr. Chetwin² preached at Whitehall on Rom. i. 18, a very quaint neat discourse of moral righteousness.

2nd March. Came out a proclamation for universal liberty of conscience in Scotland, and dispensation from all tests and laws to the contrary, as also capacitating Papists to be chosen into all offices of trust. The mystery operates.

¹ [See *ante*, p. 205. Tyrconnel's appointment, says Reresby, "made a great many people leave or sell their estates, and come over for England" (*Memoirs*, 1875, p. 369).]

² [John Chetwynd, 1628-92, prebendary of Bristol Cathedral.]

8rd March. Dr. Meggot,¹ Dean of Winchester, preached before the Princess of Denmark, on Matt. xiv. 28. In the afternoon, I went out of town to meet my Lord Clarendon, returning from Ireland.

10th. His Majesty sent for the Commissioners of the Privy Seal this morning into his bedchamber, and told us that though he had thought fit to dispose of the Seal into a single hand, yet he would so provide for us, as it should appear how well he accepted our faithful and loyal service, with many gracious expressions to this effect; upon which we delivered the Seal into his hands. It was by all the world both hoped and expected that he would have restored it to my Lord Clarendon; but they were astonished to see it given to Lord Arundel of Wardour,² a zealous Roman Catholic. Indeed it was very hard, and looked very unkindly, his Majesty (as my Lord Clarendon protested to me, on my going to visit him and long discoursing with him about the affairs of Ireland) finding not the least failure of duty in him during his government of that kingdom, so that his recall plainly appeared to be from the stronger influence of the Papists, who now got all the preferments.

Most of the great officers, both in the court and country, Lords and others, were dismissed, as they would not promise his Majesty their consent to the repeal of the test and penal statutes against Popish recusants. To this end, most of the Parliament-men were spoken to in his Majesty's closet, and such as refused, if in any place of office or trust, civil or military, were put out of their employments. This was a time of great trial; but hardly one of them assented, which put the Popish interest much backward. The English clergy everywhere preached boldly against their superstition and errors, and were wonderfully followed by

¹ [See *ante*, p. 176.]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 142.]



CHRIST'S HOSPITAL

the people. Not one considerable proselyte was made in all this time. The party were exceedingly put to the worst by the preaching and writing of the Protestants in many excellent treatises, evincing the doctrine and discipline of the reformed religion, to the manifest disadvantage of their adversaries. To this did not a little contribute the sermon preached at Whitehall before the Princess of Denmark and a great crowd of people, and at least thirty of the greatest nobility, by Dr. Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells,¹ on John viii. 46 (the gospel of the day), describing through his whole discourse the blasphemies, perfidy, wresting of Scripture, preference of tradition before it, spirit of persecution, superstition, legends and fables of the Scribes and Pharisees, so that all the auditory understood his meaning of a parallel between them and the Romish priests, and their new Trent religion. He exhorted his audience to adhere to the written Word, and to persevere in the Faith taught in the Church of England, whose doctrine for Catholic and soundness he preferred to all the communities and churches of Christians in the world; concluding with a kind of prophecy, that whatever it suffered, it should after a short trial emerge to the confusion of her adversaries and the glory of God.

I went this evening to see the order of the boys and children at Christ's Hospital. There were near 800 boys and girls so decently clad, cleanly

¹ See *ante*, p. 140. Thomas Ken, 1637-1711, was a prelate remarkable for his benevolence and piety, and the only person in England known to have interceded for the sufferers from the cruelty of Colonel Kirke, on the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion; urging the King with tears to put a stop to the dreadful butchery. He was one of the seven bishops sent by James II. to the Tower; yet he refused to acknowledge James's successor, on the ground that it would be a breach of his Consecration Oath, and he suffered for his conscientious scruples the penalty of deprivation.

lodged, so wholesomely fed, so admirably taught, some the mathematics, especially the forty of the late King's foundation, that I was delighted to see the progress some little youths of thirteen or fourteen years of age had made. I saw them at supper, visited their dormitories, and much admired the order, economy, and excellent government of this most charitable seminary. Some are taught for the Universities, others designed for seamen, all for trades and callings. The girls are instructed in all such work as becomes their sex and may fit them for good wives, mistresses, and to be a blessing to their generation. They sung a psalm before they sat down to supper in the great Hall, to an organ which played all the time, with such cheerful harmony, that it seemed to me a vision of angels. I came from the place with infinite satisfaction, having never seen a more noble, pious, and admirable charity. All these consisted of orphans only. The foundation was of that pious Prince King Edward VI., whose picture (held to be an original of Holbein) is in the court where the Governors meet to consult on the affairs of the Hospital, and his statue in white marble stands in a niche of the wall below, as you go to the church, which is a modern, noble, and ample fabric. This foundation has had, and still has, many benefactors.

16th March. I saw a trial of those devilish, murdering, mischief-doing engines called bombs, shot out of the mortar-piece on Blackheath. The distance that they are cast, the destruction they make where they fall, is prodigious.

20th. The Bishop of Bath and Wells (Dr. Ken) preached at St. Martin's to a crowd of people not to be expressed, nor the wonderful eloquence of this admirable preacher; the text was Matt. xxvi. 36 to verse 40, describing the bitterness of our

Blessed Saviour's agony, the ardour of his love, the infinite obligations we have to imitate his patience and resignation; the means by watching against temptations, and over ourselves with fervent prayer to attain it, and the exceeding reward in the end. Upon all which he made most pathological discourses. The Communion followed, at which I was participant. I afterwards dined at Dr. Tenison's with the Bishop and that young, most learned, pious, and excellent preacher, Mr. Wake.¹ In the afternoon, I went to hear Mr. Wake at the new-built church of St. Anne,² on Mark viii. 34, upon the subject of taking up the cross, and strenuously behaving ourselves in time of persecution, as this now threatened to be.

His Majesty again prorogued the Parliament, foreseeing it would not remit the laws against Papists, by the extraordinary zeal and bravery of its members, and the free renunciation of the great officers both in court and state, who would not be prevailed with for any temporal concern.

25th March. Good Friday. Dr. Tenison preached at St. Martin's on 1 Peter ii. 24. During the service, a man came into near the middle of the church, with his sword drawn, with several others in that posture; in this jealous time it put the congregation into great confusion; but it appeared to be one who fled for sanctuary, being pursued by bailiffs.

8th April. I had a re-hearing of my great cause³ at the Chancery in Westminster Hall, having seven of the most learned Counsel, my adversary five, among which were the Attorney-General and late Solicitor Finch, son to the Lord Chancellor Nottingham. The account was at last brought to one

¹ [See *ante*, p. 214.]

² [St. Anne-in-the-Willows, Aldersgate, rebuilt after the fire by Wren.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 199; and *post*, p. 221.]

article of the surcharge, and referred to a Master. The cause lasted two hours and more.

10th April. In the last week, there was issued a Dispensation from all obligations and tests, by which Dissenters and Papists especially had public liberty of exercising their several ways of worship, without incurring the penalty of the many Laws and Acts of Parliament to the contrary.¹ This was purely obtained by the Papists, thinking thereby to ruin the Church of England, being now the only Church which so admirably and strenuously opposed their superstition. There was a wonderful concourse of people at the Dissenters' meeting-house in this parish, and the parish-church [Deptford] left exceeding thin. What this will end in, God Almighty only knows; but it looks like confusion, which I pray God avert.

11th. To London about my suit, some terms of accommodation being proposed.

19th. I heard the famous singer, Cifaccio, esteemed the best in Europe. Indeed, his holding out and delicateness in extending and loosing a note with incomparable softness and sweetness, was admirable; for the rest I found him a mere wanton, effeminate child, very coy, and proudly conceited, to my apprehension. He touched the harpsichord to his voice rarely well. This was before a select number of particular persons whom Mr. Pepys invited to his house; and this was obtained by particular favour and much difficulty, the Signor much disdaining to show his talent to any but princes.

24th. At Greenwich, at the conclusion of the Church-service, there was a French sermon preached after the use of the English Liturgy translated into French, to a congregation of about 100 French

¹ [April 4. "The moderate nonconformists suspected the king's intentions, and sent no messages of thanks" (*Annals of England*, 1876, p. 488).]

refugees, of whom Monsieur Ruvigny was the chief, and had obtained the use of the church, after the parish-service was ended. The preacher pathetically exhorted to patience, constancy, and reliance on God amidst all their sufferings, and the infinite rewards to come.

2nd May. I dined with Mynheer Diskvelts, the Holland Ambassador, a prudent and worthy person. There dined Lord Middleton, principal Secretary of State, Lord Pembroke, Lord Lumley, Lord Preston,¹ Colonel Fitzpatrick, and Sir John Chardin. After dinner, the Ambassador discoursed of and deplored the stupid folly of our politics, in suffering the French to take Luxembourg,² it being a place of the most concern to have been defended, for the interest not only of the Netherlands, but of England.

12th. To London. Lord Sunderland being Lord President and Secretary of State, was made Knight of the Garter and prime favourite.—This day there was such a storm of wind as had seldom happened, being a sort of hurricane. It kept the flood out of the Thames, so that people went on foot over several places above bridge. Also an earthquake in several places in England about the time of the storm.

26th. To London, about my agreement with Mr. Pretyma,³ after my tedious suit.

2nd June. I went to London, it having pleased his Majesty to grant me a Privy Seal for £6000, for discharge of the debt I had been so many years persecuted for, it being indeed for money drawn over by my father-in-law, Sir R. Browne, during his residence in the Court of France, and so with a much greater sum due to Sir Richard from his

¹ [Richard Graham, Viscount Preston, 1648-95 (see *post*, under 30th October, 1688).]

² [Luxembourg was taken in 1684. It was restored to Spain at the Peace of Ryswyk.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 206.]

Majesty; and now this part of the arrear being paid, there remains yet due to me, as executor of Sir Richard, above £6500 more; but this determining an expensive Chancery suit has been so great a mercy and providence to me (through the kindness and friendship to me of Lord Godolphin, one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury), that I do acknowledge it with all imaginable thanks to my gracious God.¹

6th June. I visited my Lady Pierrepont, daughter to Sir John Evelyn of Deane [in Wilts], now widow of Mr. Pierrepont, and mother of the Earl of Kingston. She was now engaged in the marriage of my cousin, Evelyn Pierrepont, her second son.²

There was about this time brought into the Downs a vast treasure, which was sunk in a Spanish galleon about forty-five years ago, somewhere near Hispaniola, or the Bahama islands, and was now weighed up by some gentlemen, who were at the charge of divers, etc., to the enriching them beyond all expectation. The Duke of Albemarle's share [Governor of Jamaica] came to, I believe, £50,000.³ Some private gentlemen who adventured £100 gained from £8000 to £10,000. His Majesty's tenth was £10,000.

The Camp was now again pitched at Hounslow, the Commanders profusely vying in the expense and magnificence of tents.⁴

¹ [See *ante*, p. 219.]

² This Evelyn Pierrepont was married in the same month to Lady Mary Fielding. The issue of the marriage was the celebrated Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.

³ The Duke's share amounted to considerably more; not less, it was said, than £90,000. A medal was struck on this occasion, which is engraved in Evelyn's book on that subject, No. LXXXVII. p. 151.

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 205. The result was disappointing to King James, for the Londoners mixed freely with the soldiery and made them as discontented as themselves.]

12th June. Our Vicar preached on 2 Peter ii. 21, upon the danger of relapsing into sin. After this, I went and heard M. Lamot, an eloquent French preacher at Greenwich, on Prov. xxx. 8, 9, a consolatory discourse to the poor and religious refugees who escaped out of France in the cruel persecution.

16th. I went to Hampton Court to give his Majesty thanks for his late gracious favour, though it was but granting what was due. Whilst I was in the Council-Chamber, came in some persons, at the head of whom was a formal man with a large roll of parchment in his hand, being an *Address* (as he said, for he introduced it with a speech) of the people of Coventry, giving his Majesty their great acknowledgments for his granting a liberty of conscience; he added that this was not the application of one party only, but the unanimous address of Church of England men, Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists, to show how extensive his Majesty's grace was, as taking in all parties to his indulgence and protection, which had removed all dissensions and animosities, which would not only unite them in bonds of Christian charity, but exceedingly encourage their future industry, to the improvement of trade, and spreading his Majesty's glory throughout the world; and that now he had given to God his empire, God would establish his; with expressions of great loyalty and submission; and so he gave the roll to the King, which being returned to him again, his Majesty caused him to read. The address was short, but much to the substance of the speech of their foreman, to whom the King, pulling off his hat, said that what he had done in giving liberty of conscience, was, what was ever his judgment ought to be done; and that, as he would preserve them in their enjoyment of it during his reign, so he would endeavour to settle it by law, that it should never be altered by his

successors. After this, he gave them his hand to kiss. It was reported the subscribers were above 1000.

But this is not so remarkable as an Address of the week before (as I was assured by one present), of some of the *Family of Love*.¹ His Majesty asked them what this worship consisted in, and how many their party might consist of; they told him their custom was to read the Scripture, and then to preach; but did not give any further account, only said that for the rest they were a sort of refined Quakers, but their number very small, not consisting, as they said, of above threescore in all, and those chiefly belonging to the Isle of Ely.²

18th June. I dined at Mr. Blathwayt's³ (two miles from Hampton). This gentleman is Secretary of War, Clerk of the Council, etc., having raised himself by his industry from very moderate circumstances. He is a very proper, handsome person, very dexterous in business, and, besides all this, has married a great fortune. His income by the Army, Council, and Secretary to the Committee of Foreign Plantations, brings him in above £2000 per annum.

28rd. The Privy Seal for £6000⁴ was passed to me, so that this tedious affair was dispatched.—Hitherto, a very windy and tempestuous summer.—The French sermons to the refugees were continued at Greenwich Church.

¹ [The Family of Love, or *Familia Caritatis*, were an offshoot of the Dutch Anabaptists. Their founder was a Westphalian named Henrick Niclaes (*fl.* 1502-80). They interpreted Scripture mystically, denying the Resurrection, Christ's person, etc., and preaching the love of humanity. By the beginning of the eighteenth century they had become extremely rare.]

² [Cambridgeshire Fens, now drained.]

³ [William Blathwayt, 1649-1717; Secretary at War, 1683-1704.]

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 221.]

19th July. I went to Wotton. In the way, I dined at Ashtead, with my Lady Mordaunt.¹

5th August. I went to see Albury,² now purchased by Mr. Finch (the King's Solicitor,³ and son to the late Lord Chancellor); I found the garden which I first designed for the Duke of Norfolk, nothing improved.

15th. I went to visit Lord Clarendon at Swallowfield, where was my Lord Cornbury⁴ just arrived from Denmark, whither he had accompanied the Prince of Denmark two months before, and now come back. The miserable tyranny under which that nation lives, he related to us; the King keeps them under an army of 40,000 men, all Germans, he not daring to trust his own subjects. Notwithstanding this, the Danes are exceeding proud, the country very poor and miserable.

22nd. Returned home to Sayes Court from Wotton, having been five weeks absent with my brother and friends, who entertained us very nobly. God be praised for His goodness, and this refreshment after my many troubles, and let His mercy and providence ever preserve me. Amen.

3rd September. The Lord Mayor sent me an Officer with a staff, to be one of the Governors of St. Thomas's Hospital.

Persecution raging in France; divers churches there fired by lightning, priests struck, consecrated hosts, etc., burnt and destroyed, both at St. Malo and Paris, at the grand procession on Corpus Christi day.

13th. I went to Lambeth, and dined with the Archbishop. After dinner, I retired into the library, which I found exceedingly improved; there are also divers rare manuscripts in a room apart.

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 388.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 199.]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 281.]

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 188.]

6th October. I was godfather to Sir John Chardin's¹ son, christened at Greenwich Church, named John. The Earl of Bath and Countess of Carlisle, the other sponsors.

29th. An Anabaptist, a very odd ignorant person, a mechanic, I think, was Lord Mayor.² The King and Queen, and D'Adda,³ the Pope's Nuncio, invited to a feast at Guildhall. A strange turn of affairs, that those who scandalised the Church of England as favourers of Popery, should publicly invite an emissary from Rome, one who represented the very person of their Antichrist!

10th December. My son was returned out of Devon, where he had been on a commission from the Lords of the Treasury about a concealment of land.

20th. I went with my Lord Chief-Justice Herbert, to see his house at Walton-on-Thames:⁴ it is a barren place. To a very ordinary house he had built a very handsome library, designing more building to it than the place deserves, in my opinion. He desired my advice about laying out his gardens, etc. The next day, we went to Weybridge, to see some pictures of the Duchess of Norfolk's,⁵ particularly the statue, or child in gremio, said to be of Michael Angelo; but there are reasons to think it rather a copy, from some proportion in the figures ill taken. It was now exposed to sale.

¹ [See *ante*, p. 52.]

² Sir John Peake.

³ Count D'Adda. See *ante*, p. 195.

⁴ This is a mistake; the house was Oatlands in Weybridge, rebuilt after fire in 1794. Sir Edward Herbert (see *ante*, p. 207) followed the fortunes of King James, who gave him his Great Seal. He was attainted; and Oatlands given to his brother, Admiral Herbert (see *post*, p. 265). Sir Edward published an apology for the judgment he had given in favour of the King's dispensing powers, which was answered by Mr. William Atwood and Sir Robert Atkins. (Manning and Bray's *Surrey*, ii. 786.)

⁵ [See *ante*, p. 16.]

1687-8 : 12th *January*. Mr. Slingsby, Master of the Mint, being under very deplorable circumstances on account of his creditors, and especially the King, I did my endeavour with the Lords of the Treasury to be favourable to him.

My Lord Arran,¹ eldest son to the Duke of Hamilton, being now married to Lady Ann Spencer, eldest daughter of the Earl of Sunderland, Lord President of the Council, I and my family had most glorious favours sent us, the wedding being celebrated with extraordinary splendour.

15th. There was a solemn and particular office used at our, and all the churches of London and ten miles round, for a thanksgiving to God, for her Majesty being with child.

22nd. This afternoon I went not to church, being employed on a religious treatise I had undertaken.²

Post annum 1588—1660—1688, Annus Mirabilis Tertius.³

80th. Being the Martyrdom-day of King Charles the First, our curate made a florid oration against the murder of that excellent Prince, with an exhortation to obedience from the example of David, 1 Samuel xxvi. 6.

12th *February*. My daughter Evelyn⁴ going in the coach to visit in the City, a jolt (the door being not fast shut) flung her quite out in such manner, as the hind wheels passed over her a little above her knees. Yet it pleased God, besides the bruises

¹ [See *ante*, p. 88.]

² What this was does not appear; but there are several of Evelyn's compositions remaining in MS. [It may have been the posthumous *History of Religion: A Rational Account of the True Religion*, 2 vols., edited with notes, by the Rev. R. M. Evanson, in 1850.]

³ This seems to have been added after the page was written.

⁴ [Martha Evelyn, wife of Evelyn's son, John (see *ante*, p. 43).]

of the wheels, she had no other harm. In two days, she was able to walk, and soon after perfectly well; through God Almighty's great mercy to an excellent wife and a most dutiful and discreet daughter-in-law.

17th February. I received the sad news of my niece Montagu's death at Woodcote¹ on the 15th.

15th March. I gave in my account about the Sick and Wounded; in order to have my quietus.

23rd. Dr. Parker, Bishop of Oxford,² who so lately published his extravagant treatise about transubstantiation, and for abrogating the Test and Penal Laws, died. He was esteemed a violent, passionate, haughty man, but yet being pressed to declare for the Church of Rome, he utterly refused it. A remarkable end!

The French *Tyrant* now finding he could make no proselytes amongst those Protestants of quality, and others, whom he had caused to be shut up in dungeons, and confined in nunneries and monasteries, gave them, after so long trial, a general releasement, and leave to go out of the kingdom, but utterly taking their estates and their children; so that great numbers came daily into England and other places, where they were received and relieved with very considerate Christian charity. This Providence and goodness of God to those who thus constantly held out, did so work upon those miserable poor souls who to avoid the persecution signed their renunciation, and to save their estates went to mass, that reflecting on what they had done, they grew so affected in their conscience, that not being able to support it, they in great numbers through all the French provinces, acquainted the magistrates

¹ [Mary Evelyn of Woodcote (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 308).]

² [See *ante*, p. 208. Dr. Parker died of a convulsive fit caused by the King's Mandate to admit further Catholic fellows to Magdalen College, of which he was President, 1687-88.]

and lieutenants that being sorry for their apostasy, they were resolved to return to their old religion ; that they would go no more to mass, but peaceably assemble when they could, to beg pardon and worship God, but so without weapons as not to give the least umbrage of rebellion or sedition, imploring their pity and commiseration ; and, accordingly, meeting so from time to time, the dragoon-missioners, Popish officers and priests, fell upon them, murdered and put them to death, whoever they could lay hold on ; they without the least resistance embraced death, torture, or hanging, with singing psalms and praying for their persecutors to the last breath, yet still continuing the former assembling of themselves in desolate places, suffering with incredible constancy, that through God's mercy they might obtain pardon for this lapse. Such examples of Christian behaviour have not been seen since the primitive persecutions ; and doubtless God will do some signal work in the end, if we can with patience and resignation hold out, and depend on His Providence.

24th March. I went with Sir Charles Littleton to Sheen,¹ a house and estate given him by Lord Brouncker ; one who was ever noted for a hard, covetous, vicious man ; but for his worldly craft and skill in gaming few exceeded him. Coming to die, he bequeathed all his land, house, furniture, etc., to Sir Charles, to whom he had no manner of relation, but an ancient friendship contracted at the famous siege of Colchester, forty years before. It is a pretty place, with fine gardens, and well-planted, and given to one worthy of them, Sir Charles being an honest gentleman and soldier. He is brother to Sir Henry Littleton of Worcester-shire, whose great estate he is likely to inherit, his brother being without children. They are

¹ [See *ante*, p. 18.]

descendants of the great lawyer of that name, and give the same arms and motto. He is married to one Mrs. Temple,¹ formerly Maid of Honour to the late Queen, a beautiful lady, and he has many fine children, so that none envy his good fortune.

After dinner, we went to see Sir William Temple's near to it;² the most remarkable things are his orangery and gardens, where the wall-fruit trees are most exquisitely nailed and trained, far better than I ever noted.

There are many good pictures, especially of Vandyck's, in both these houses, and some few statues and small busts in the latter.

From thence to Kew, to visit Sir Henry Capel's,³ whose orangery and myrtetum are most beautiful and perfectly well kept. He was contriving very high palisadoes of reeds to shade his oranges during the summer, and painting those reeds in oil.

1st April. In the morning, the first sermon was by Dr. Stillingfleet,⁴ Dean of St. Paul's (at Whitehall), on Luke x. 41, 42. The Holy Communion followed, but was so interrupted by the rude breaking in of multitudes zealous to hear the second sermon, to be preached by the Bishop of Bath and Wells,⁵ that the latter part of that holy office could hardly be heard, or the sacred elements be distributed without great trouble. The Princess being come, he preached on Micah vii. 8, 9, 10, describing the calamity of the reformed church of Judah under the Babylonian persecution, for her sins, and God's delivery of her on her repentance; that as Judah emerged, so should the now Reformed Church, whenever insulted or persecuted. He preached with his accustomed action, zeal, and

¹ [This is the Miss Temple of Grammont's *Memoirs*.]

² [See *ante*, p. 18.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 19.]

⁴ [Dr. Edward Stillingfleet, 1635-99; Dean of St. Paul's, 1678.]

⁵ [See *ante*, p. 217.]

energy, so that people flocked from all quarters to hear him.

15th April. A dry, cold, backward spring; easterly winds.

The persecution still raging in France, multitudes of Protestants, and many very considerable and great persons flying hither, produced a second general contribution, the Papists, by God's Providence, as yet making small progress amongst us.

29th. The weather was, till now, so cold and sharp, by an almost perpetual east wind, which had continued many months, that there was little appearance of any spring, and yet the winter was very favourable as to frost and snow.

2nd May. To London, about my petition for allowances upon the account of Commissioner for Sick and Wounded in the former war with Holland.¹

8th. His Majesty, alarmed by the great fleet of the Dutch (whilst we had a very inconsiderable one), went down to Chatham; their fleet was well prepared, and out, before we were in readiness, or had any considerable number to have encountered them, had there been occasion, to the great reproach of the nation; whilst, being in profound peace, there was a mighty land-army, which there was no need of, and no force at sea, where only was the apprehension; but the army was doubtless kept and increased, in order to bring in and countenance Popery, the King beginning to discover his intention, by many instances pursued by the Jesuits, against his first resolution to alter nothing in the Church-Establishment, so that it appeared there can be no reliance on Popish promises.

18th. The King enjoining the ministers to read his Declaration for giving liberty of conscience (as it was styled) in all the churches of England,

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 218.]

this evening, six Bishops, Bath and Wells,¹ Peterborough,² Ely,³ Chichester,⁴ St. Asaph,⁵ and Bristol,⁶ in the name of all the rest of the Bishops, came to his Majesty to petition him, that he would not impose the reading of it to the several congregations within their dioceses ; not that they were averse to the publishing it for want of due tenderness towards Dissenters, in relation to whom they should be willing to come to such a temper as should be thought fit, when that matter might be considered and settled in Parliament and Convocation ; but that, the declaration being founded on such a dispensing power as might at pleasure set aside all laws ecclesiastical and civil, it appeared to them illegal, as it had done to the Parliament in 1661 and 1672, and that it was a point of such consequence, that they could not so far make themselves parties to it, as the reading of it in church in time of Divine Service amounted to.

The King was so far incensed at this address, that he with threatening expressions commanded them to obey him in reading it at their perils, and so dismissed them.

20th May. I went to Whitehall Chapel, where, after the morning Lessons, the Declaration was read by one of the Choir who used to read the Chapters. I hear it was in the Abbey Church, Westminster, but almost universally forborne throughout all London : the consequences of which a little time will show.

25th. All the discourse now was about the Bishops refusing to read the injunction for the abolition of the Test, etc. It seems the injunction came so crudely from the Secretary's office, that it was neither sealed nor signed in form, nor had any

¹ Thomas Ken.

² Thomas White.

³ Francis Turner.

⁴ John Lake.

⁵ William Lloyd.

⁶ Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Bart.

lawyer been consulted, so as the Bishops, who took all imaginable advice, put the Court to great difficulties how to proceed against them. Great were the consults, and a proclamation was expected all this day; but nothing was done. The action of the Bishops was universally applauded, and reconciled many adverse parties, Papists only excepted, who were now exceedingly perplexed, and violent courses were every moment expected. Report was, that the Protestant secular Lords and Nobility would abet the Clergy.

The Queen-Dowager, hitherto bent on her return into Portugal, now on the sudden, on allegation of a great debt owing her by his Majesty disabling her, declares her resolution to stay.

News arrived of the most prodigious earthquake that was almost ever heard of, subverting the city of Lima and country in Peru, with a dreadful inundation following it.

8th June. This day, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Bishops of Ely, Chichester, St. Asaph, Bristol, Peterborough, and Bath and Wells, were sent from the Privy Council prisoners to the Tower, for refusing to give bail for their appearance, on their not reading the Declaration for liberty of conscience; they refused to give bail, as it would have prejudiced their peerage. The concern of the people for them was wonderful, infinite crowds on their knees begging their blessing, and praying for them, as they passed out of the barge along the Tower-wharf.

10th. A *young Prince* born,¹ which will cause disputes.

About two o'clock, we heard the Tower-ordnance discharged, and the bells ring for the birth of a Prince of Wales. This was very surprising, it

¹ [James Francis Edward Stuart, 1688-1766, afterwards known as the Chevalier de St. George, or the "Old Pretender."]

having been universally given out that her Majesty did not look till the next month.

13th June. I went to the Tower to see the Bishops, visited the Archbishop and Bishops of Ely, St. Asaph, and Bath and Wells.

14th. Dined with my Lord Chancellor.

15th. Being the first day of Term, the Bishops were brought to Westminster on Habeas Corpus, when the indictment was read, and they were called on to plead; their Counsel objected that the warrant was illegal; but, after long debate, it was overruled, and they pleaded. The Court then offered to take bail for their appearance; but this they refused, and at last were dismissed on their own recognisances to appear that day fortnight; the Archbishop in £200, the Bishops £100 each.

17th. Was a day of thanksgiving in London and ten miles about for the young Prince's birth; a form of prayer made for the purpose by the Bishop of Rochester.

29th. They appeared; the trial lasted from nine in the morning to past six in the evening, when the Jury retired to consider of their verdict, and the Court adjourned to nine the next morning. The Jury were locked up till that time, eleven of them being for an acquittal; but one (Arnold, a brewer) would not consent. At length he agreed with the others. The Chief-Justice, Wright, behaved with great moderation and civility to the Bishops. Allibone,¹ a Papist, was strongly against them; but Holloway² and Powell³ being of opinion in their favour, they were acquitted. When this was heard, there was great rejoicing; and there was a lane of people from the King's Bench to the waterside, on their knees, as the

¹ [Sir Richard Allibone, or Allibond, 1636-88.]

² [Sir Richard Holloway, *d.* 1695].

³ [Sir John Powell, 1633-96.]

Bishops passed and repassed, to beg their blessing. Bonfires were made that night, and bells rung, which was taken very ill at Court, and an appearance of nearly sixty Earls and Lords, etc., on the bench, did not a little comfort them; but indeed they were all along full of comfort and cheerful.

Note, they denied to pay the Lieutenant of the Tower (Hales, who used them very surlily) any fees, alleging that none were due.

The night was solemnised with bonfires, and other fireworks, etc.

2nd July. The two judges, Holloway and Powell, were displaced.

3rd. I went with Dr. Godolphin and his brother Sir William to St. Albans, to see a library he would have bought of the widow of Dr. Cartwright, late Archdeacon of St. Albans, a very good collection of books, especially in divinity; he was to give £300 for them. Having seen the *great Church*, now newly repaired by a public contribution, we returned home.

8th. One of the King's chaplains preached before the Princess on Exodus xiv. 18, "Stand still, and behold the salvation of the Lord," which he applied so boldly to the present conjuncture of the Church of England, that more could scarce be said to encourage desponders. The Popish priests were not able to carry their cause against their learned adversaries, who confounded them both by their disputes and writings.

12th. The camp now began at Hounslow; but the nation was in high discontent.

Colonel Titus, Sir Henry Vane (son of him who was executed for his treason),¹ and some other of the Presbyterians and Independent party, were sworn of the Privy Council, from hopes of thereby diverting that party from going over to the Bishops

¹ [*I.e.* Sir Harry Vane, 1613-62. See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 116.]

and Church of England, which now they began to do, foreseeing the design of the Papists to descend and take in their most hateful of heretics (as they at other times expressed them to be) to effect their own ends, now evident; the utter extirpation of the Church of England first, and then the rest would follow.

17th July. This night the fireworks were played off, that had been prepared for the Queen's up-sitting. We saw them to great advantage; they were very fine, and cost some thousands of pounds, in the pyramids, statues, etc.; but were spent too soon for so long a preparation.

26th. I went to Lambeth to visit the Archbishop,¹ whom I found very cheerful.

10th August. Dr. Tenison now told me there would suddenly be some great thing discovered. This was the Prince of Orange intending to come over.

15th. I went to Althorp,² in Northamptonshire, seventy miles. A coach and four horses took up me and my son at Whitehall, and carried us to Dunstable, where we arrived and dined at noon, and from thence another coach and six horses carried us to Althorp, four miles beyond Northampton, where we arrived by seven o'clock that evening. Both these coaches were hired for me by that noble Countess of Sunderland, who invited me to her house at Althorp, where she entertained me and my son with very extraordinary kindness; I staid till the Thursday.

18th. Dr. Jeffries, the minister of Althorp, who was my Lord's Chaplain when ambassador in France, preached the shortest discourse I ever heard; but what was defective in the amplitude of his sermon, he had supplied in the largeness and

¹ [Sancroft.]

² See a former visit to this place, vol. ii. p. 382.



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convenience of the parsonage-house, which the Doctor (who had at least £600 a year in spiritual advancement) had new built, and made fit for a person of quality to live in, with gardens and all accommodation according therewith.

My lady carried us to see Lord Northampton's¹ seat, a very strong large house, built with stone, not altogether modern. They were enlarging the garden, in which was nothing extraordinary, except the iron gate opening into the park, which indeed was very good work, wrought in flowers painted with blue and gilded. There is a noble walk of elms towards the front of the house by the bowling-green. I was not in any room of the house besides a lobby looking into the garden, where my Lord and his new Countess (Sir Stephen Fox's daughter, whom I had known from a child) entertained the Countess and her daughter the Countess of Arran, (newly married to the son of the Duke of Hamilton),² with so little good grace, and so dully, that our visit was very short, and so we returned to Althorp, twelve miles distant.

The house, or rather palace, at Althorp, is a noble uniform pile in form of a half H, built of brick and freestone, balustered and *à la moderne*; the hall is well, the staircase excellent; the rooms of state, galleries, offices and furniture, such as may become a great prince. It is situate in the midst of a garden, exquisitely planted and kept, and all this in a park walled in with hewn stone, planted with rows and walks of trees, canals and fish-ponds, and stored with game. And, what is above all this, governed by a lady, who without any show of solicitude, keeps everything in such admirable order, both within and without, from the garret to the cellar, that I do not believe there is any in this nation, or in any other, that exceeds her in such

¹ [George, fourth Earl, *d.* 1727.]

² [See *ante*, p. 227.]

exact order, without ostentation, but substantially great and noble. The meanest servant is lodged so neat and cleanly ; the service at the several tables, the good order and decency—in a word, the entire economy is perfectly becoming a wise and noble person. She is one who for her distinguished esteem of me from a long and worthy friendship, I must ever honour and celebrate. I wish from my soul the Lord her husband (whose parts and abilities are otherwise conspicuous) was as worthy of her, as by a fatal apostasy¹ and court-ambition he has made himself unworthy ! This is what she deplores, and it renders her as much affliction as a lady of great soul and much prudence is capable of. The Countess of Bristol, her mother, a grave and honourable lady, has the comfort of seeing her daughter and grandchildren under the same economy, especially Mr. Charles Spencer,² a youth of extraordinary hopes, very learned for his age, and ingenious, and under a governor of great worth. Happy were it, could as much be said of the elder brother, the Lord Spencer,³ who, rambling about the world, dishonours both his name and his family, adding sorrow to sorrow to a mother, who has taken all imaginable care of his education. There is a daughter very young married to the Earl of Clancarty, who has a great and fair estate in Ireland, but who yet gives no great presage of worth,—so universally contaminated is the youth of this corrupt and abandoned age ! But this is again recompensed by my Lord Arran, a sober and worthy gentleman, who has espoused the Lady Ann Spencer,

¹ [He renounced Protestantism in 1688.]

² The eldest son (see *ante*, p. 68) dying without issue, this Charles succeeded to the title and estate as third Earl of Sunderland, and marrying in 1700 as his second wife Anne Churchill, second daughter and at length co-heiress to John Duke of Marlborough, his son by her succeeded to that title.

³ [See *ante*, p. 68.]

a young lady of admirable accomplishments and virtue.

23rd August. I left this noble place and conversation, my lady having provided carriages to convey us back in the same manner as we went, and a dinner being prepared at Dunstable against our arrival. Northampton, having been lately burnt and re-edified, is now become a town that for the beauty of the buildings, especially the church and townhouse, may compare with the neatest in Italy itself.

Dr. Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, wrote a very honest and handsome letter to the Commissioners Ecclesiastical, excusing himself from sitting any longer among them, he by no means approving of their prosecuting the Clergy who refused to read the Declaration for liberty of conscience, in prejudice of the Church of England.

The Dutch make extraordinary preparations both at sea and land, which with the no small progress Popery makes among us, puts us to many difficulties. The Popish Irish soldiers commit many murders and insults; the whole nation disaffected, and in apprehensions.

After long trials of the doctors to bring up the little Prince of Wales by hand (so many of her Majesty's children having died infants) not succeeding, a country-nurse, the wife of a tile-maker, is taken to give it suck.

18th September. I went to London, where I found the Court in the utmost consternation on report of the Prince of Orange's landing; which put Whitehall into so panic a fear, that I could hardly believe it possible to find such a change.

Writs were issued in order to a Parliament, and a declaration to back the good order of elections, with great professions of maintaining the Church of England, but without giving any sort of satisfac-

tion to the people, who showed their high discontent at several things in the Government.

Earthquakes had utterly demolished the ancient Smyrna, and several other places in Greece, Italy, and even in the Spanish Indies, forerunners of greater calamities. God Almighty preserve His Church and all who put themselves under the shadow of His wings, till these things be overpast!

30th September. The Court in so extraordinary a consternation, on assurance of the Prince of Orange's intention to land, that the writs sent forth for a Parliament were recalled.

7th October. Dr. Tenison preached at St. Martin's on 2 Tim. iii. 16, showing the Scriptures to be our only rule of faith, and its perfection above all traditions. After which, near 1000 devout persons partook of the Communion. The sermon was chiefly occasioned by a Jesuit, who in the Masshouse on the Sunday before had disparaged the Scripture and railed at our translation, which some present contradicting, they pulled him out of the pulpit, and treated him very coarsely, insomuch that it was like to create a great disturbance in the City.

Hourly expectation of the Prince of Orange's invasion heightened to that degree, that his Majesty thought fit to abrogate the Commission for the dispensing Power (but retaining his own right still to dispense with all laws) and restore the ejected Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford. In the meantime, he called over 5000 Irish, and 4000 Scots, and continued to remove Protestants and put in Papists at Portsmouth and other places of trust, and retained the Jesuits about him, increasing the universal discontent. It brought people to so desperate a pass, that they seemed passionately to long for and desire the landing of that Prince, whom they looked on to be their

deliverer from Popish tyranny, praying incessantly for an east wind, which was said to be the only hindrance of his expedition with a numerous army ready to make a descent. To such a strange temper, and unheard of in former times, was this poor nation reduced, and of which I was an eyewitness. The apprehension was (and with reason) that his Majesty's forces would neither at land nor sea oppose them with that vigour requisite to repel invaders.

The late imprisoned Bishops were now called to reconcile matters, and the Jesuits hard at work to foment confusion among the Protestants by their usual tricks. A letter was sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury,¹ informing him, from good hands, of

¹ By Evelyn himself. The letter was as follows :—

“ My Lord, The honor and reputation which y^r Grace's piety, prudence, and signal courage, have justly merited and obtain'd, not onely from the Sons of the Church of England, but even universally from those Protestants amongst us who are Dissenters from her discipline ; God Almighty's providence and blessing upon y^r Grace's vigilancy and extraordinary endeavours will not suffer to be diminished in this conjuncture. The conversation I now and then have with some in place, who have the opportunity of knowing what is doing in the most seacret recesses and cabals of our Churches adversaries, obliges me to acquaint you, that the calling of y^r Grace and the rest of the L^{ds} Bishops to Court, and what has there of late ben requir'd of you, is onely to create a jealousy and suspicion amongst well-meaning people of such compliances as it is certaine they have no cause to apprehend. The plan of this and of all that w^{ch} is to follow of seeming favour thence, is wholly drawn by the Jesuites, who are at this time more than ever buisy to make divisions amongst us, all other arts and mechanisms having hitherto failed them. They have, with other things, contriv'd that y^r Lordships the Bishops should give his Ma^{ty} advice separately, without calling any of the rest of the Peeres, which, tho' maliciously suggested, spreads generally about the towne. I do not at all question but y^r Grace will speedily prevent the operation of this venome, and that you will thinke it highly necessary so to do, that your Grace is also injoyn'd to compose a form of prayer, wherein the Pr. of O. is expressly to be named the Invader : of this I presume not to say any thing ; but for as much as in all the Declarations, etc., which have hitherto been published in pretended favour of the Church of England, there is not once the least mention of the *Reformed* or *Protestant Religion*, but onely of the *Church of England as by Law established*, which Church the Papists tell us is the *Church of Rome*, which is (say they) the Catholic Church of England that onely is

what was contriving by them. A paper of what the Bishops advised his Majesty was published. The Bishops were enjoined to prepare a form of prayer against the feared invasion. A pardon published. Soldiers and mariners daily pressed.

14th October. The King's birthday. No guns from the Tower as usual. The sun eclipsed at its rising. This day signal for the victory of William the Conqueror against Harold, near Battle, in Sussex. The wind, which had been hitherto west, was east all this day. Wonderful expectation of the Dutch fleet. Public prayers ordered to be read in the churches against invasion.

28th. A tumult in London on the rabble demolishing a Popish chapel that had been set up in the City.

29th. Lady Sunderland acquainted me with his Majesty's taking away the Seals from Lord Sunderland,¹ and of her being with the Queen to intercede for him.² It is conceived that he had of late grown remiss in pursuing the interest of the Jesuitical counsels; some reported one thing, some another;

establish'd by Law; the Church of England in the Reformed sense so established, is but by an usurp'd authority. The antiquity of *that* would by these words be explained, and utterly defeat this false and subdolous construction, and take off all exceptions whatsoever; if in all extraordinary offices, upon these occasions, the words *Reformed* and *Protestant*, were added to that of the *Church of England by Law established*. And whosoever threatens to invade or come against us, to y^e prejudice of that Church, in God's name, be they Dutch or Irish, let us heartily pray and fight against them. My Lord, this is, I confesse, a bold, but honest period: and, tho I am well assured that y^r Grace is perfectly acquainted with all this before, and therefore may blame my impertinence, as that does ἀλλοτριοεπισκοπεῖν; yet I am confident you will not reprove the zeale of one who most humbly begs your Grace's pardon, with y^r blessing. Lond., 10 Oct. 1688." (From a copy in Evelyn's handwriting.) See *post*, under 15th January, 1689.

¹ [See *ante*, p. 192.]

² [He obtained his pardon from the King on the 28th. "I hope you wilbe more faithfull to your next master than you have been to me"—said James in granting it and dismissing him (Bramston's *Autobiography*, 1845, p. 327).]

but there was doubtless some secret betrayed, which time may discover.

There was a Council called, to which were summoned the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Judges, the Lord Mayor, etc. The Queen-Dowager, and all the ladies and lords who were present at the Queen-Consort's labour, were to give their testimony upon oath of the Prince of Wales's birth, recorded both at the Council-Board and at the Chancery a day or two after. This procedure was censured by some as below his Majesty to condescend to, on the talk of the people.¹ It was remarkable that on this occasion the Archbishop, Marquis of Halifax, the Earls of Clarendon and Nottingham, refused to sit at the Council-table amongst Papists, and their bold telling his Majesty that whatever was done whilst such sat amongst them was unlawful and incurred *præmunire*;—at least, if what I heard be true.

30th October. I dined with Lord Preston,² made Secretary of State, in the place of the Earl of Sunderland.³

Visited Mr. Boyle,⁴ when came in the Duke of Hamilton⁵ and Earl of Burlington. The Duke told us many particulars of Mary Queen of Scots, and her amours with the Italian favourite, etc.

31st. My birthday, being the 68th year of my age. O blessed Lord, grant that as I grow in years, so may I improve in grace! Be Thou my

¹ [Burnet gives a long account of this council (*History of His Own Time*, 1724, i. pp. 785-86).]

² ["October 29. Came a report as if the Dutch fleet had been much shattered by the storm; that my Lord Sunderland was certainly out, and my Lord Preston Secretary of State. The King all this time was making great preparations and levies for his army, and had brought it by computation to 6000 horse and dragoons, and 38,000 foot" (Reresby's *Memoirs*, 1875, p. 409).]

³ [See *ante*, p. 242.]

⁴ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 110.]

⁵ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 150.]

Protector this following year, and preserve me and mine from those dangers and great confusions that threaten a sad revolution to this sinful nation! Defend Thy Church, our holy religion, and just laws, disposing his Majesty to listen to sober and healing counsels, that if it be Thy blessed will, we may still enjoy that happy tranquillity which hitherto Thou hast continued to us! Amen, Amen!

1st November. Dined with Lord Preston, with other company, at Sir Stephen Fox's. Continual alarms of the Prince of Orange, but no certainty. Reports of his great losses of horse in the storm, but without any assurance. A man was taken with divers papers and printed manifestoes, and carried to Newgate, after examination at the Cabinet-Council. There was likewise a Declaration of the States for satisfaction of all Public Ministers at the Hague, except to the English and the French. There was in that of the Prince's an expression, as if the Lords both Spiritual and Temporal had invited him over, with a deduction of the causes of his enterprise. This made his Majesty convene my Lord of Canterbury and the other Bishops now in town, to give an account of what was in the manifesto, and to enjoin them to clear themselves by some public writing of this disloyal charge.

2nd. It was now certainly reported by some who saw the fleet, and the Prince embark, that they sailed from the Brill on Wednesday morning,¹ and that the Princess of Orange was there to take leave of her husband.

4th. Fresh reports of the Prince being landed somewhere about Portsmouth, or the Isle of

¹ ["On the first of *November* O.S. we sailed out with the evening tide," says Burnet (*History of His Own Time*, 1724, i. p. 787).]

Wight, whereas it was thought it would have been northward. The Court in great hurry.

5th November. I went to London; heard the news of the Prince having landed at Torbay,¹ coming with a fleet of near 700 sail, passing through the Channel with so favourable a wind, that our navy could not intercept, or molest them. This put the King and Court into great consternation, they were now employed in forming an army to stop their further progress, for they were got into Exeter, and the season and ways very improper for his Majesty's forces to march so great a distance.

The Archbishop of Canterbury and some few of the other Bishops and Lords in London, were sent for to Whitehall, and required to set forth their abhorrence of this invasion. They assured his Majesty they had never invited any of the Prince's party, or were in the least privy to it, and would be ready to show all testimony of their loyalty; but, as to a public declaration, being so few, they desired that his Majesty would call the rest of their brethren and Peers, that they might consult what was fit to be done on this occasion, not thinking it right to publish anything without them, and till they had themselves seen the Prince's Manifesto, in which it was pretended he was invited in by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal. This did not please the King; so they departed.

A Declaration was published, prohibiting all persons to see or read the Prince's Manifesto, in which was set forth at large the cause of his expedition, as there had been one before from the States.

These are the beginnings of sorrow, unless God in His mercy prevent it by some happy reconciliation of all dissensions among us. This, in all likelihood, nothing can effect except a free Parlia-

¹ [On the 5th November.]

ment; but this we cannot hope to see, whilst there are any forces on either side. I pray God to protect and direct the King for the best and truest interest of his people!—I saw his Majesty touch for the evil, Piten the Jesuit, and Warner officiating.

14th November. The Prince increases every day in force. Several Lords go in to him. Lord Cornbury¹ carries some regiments, and marches to Honiton, the Prince's headquarters. The City of London in disorder; the rabble pulled down the nunnery newly bought by the Papists of Lord Berkeley, at St. John's. The Queen prepares to go to Portsmouth for safety, to attend the issue of this commotion, which has a dreadful aspect.

18th. It was now a very hard frost. The King goes to Salisbury to rendezvous the army, and return to London. Lord Delamere appears for the Prince in Cheshire. The nobility meet in Yorkshire. The Archbishop of Canterbury and some Bishops, and such Peers as were in London, address his Majesty to call a Parliament. The King invites all foreign nations to come over. The French take all the Palatinate, and alarm the Germans more than ever.

29th. I went to the Royal Society. We adjourned the election of a President to 23rd April, by reason of the public commotions, yet dined together as of custom this day.

2nd December. Dr. Tenison preached at St. Martin's on Psalm xxxvi. 5, 6, 7, concerning Providence. I received the blessed Sacrament. Afterwards, visited my Lord Godolphin, then going with the Marquis of Halifax and Earl of Nottingham as Commissioners to the Prince of Orange; he told me they had little power. Plymouth declared for the Prince. Bath, York, Hull, Bristol, and all the eminent nobility and

¹ [See *ante*, p. 188.]

persons of quality through England, declare for the Protestant religion and laws, and go to meet the Prince, who every day sets forth new Declarations against the Papists. The great favourites at Court, Priests and Jesuits, fly or abscond. Everything, till now concealed, flies abroad in public print, and is cried about the streets. Expectation of the Prince coming to Oxford. The Prince of Wales and great treasure sent privily to Portsmouth,¹ the Earl of Dover being Governor. Address from the Fleet not grateful to his Majesty. The Papists in offices lay down their commissions, and fly. Universal consternation amongst them; it looks like a revolution.

7th Decemb^r. My son went towards Oxford. I returned home.

9th. Lord Sunderland meditates flight.² The rabble demolished all Popish chapels, and several Papist lords and gentlemen's houses, especially that of the Spanish Ambassador, which they pillaged, and burnt his library.³

18th. The King flies to sea, puts in at Fever-sham for ballast; is rudely treated by the people; comes back to Whitehall.⁴

¹ [He was brought back, December 8; "and on Sunday night, being the 9th, the Queen with the Prince went about twelve o'clock to a barge down the river secretly prepared, and, the wind being fair, wafted over to Dunkirk" (Reresby's *Memoirs*, 1875, p. 421).]

² [He had apparently already gone. "He fled to Rotterdam, disguised in a woman's dress," in November, says the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*]

³ [See *ante*, p. 67. According to Reresby, goods and plate were taken from him to the value of one hundred thousand pounds, much of which had been sent to him for security (*Memoirs*, 1875, p. 422).]

⁴ [Evelyn's rapid summary requires expansion. On the morning of the 11th December, between two and three o'clock, the King left Whitehall privately in a hackney coach provided by Sir Edward Hales, Lieutenant of the Tower, whose servant he pretended to be. This carried them to Milbank, where they

The Prince of Orange is advanced to Windsor, is invited by the King to St. James's, the messenger sent was the Earl of Faversham, the General of the Forces, who going without trumpet, or passport, is detained prisoner by the Prince, who accepts the invitation, but requires his Majesty to retire to some distant place, that his own guards may be quartered about the Palace and City. This is taken heinously, and the King goes privately to Rochester; is persuaded to come back; comes on the Sunday; goes to mass, and dines in public, a Jesuit saying grace (I was present).

17th December. That night was a Council; his Majesty refuses to assent to all the proposals; goes away again to Rochester.¹

18th. I saw the King take barge to Gravesend at twelve o'clock—a sad sight! The Prince comes to St. James's, and fills Whitehall with Dutch guards. A Council of Peers meet about an expedient to call a Parliament; adjourn to the House of Lords.

took boat for Vauxhall, throwing the Great Seal into the river. They then went on in a carriage to Sheerness, where a custom-house-hoy was to convey them to France. A gale was blowing, and they had to take in ballast at Sheppey. Putting out again, they were boarded by a number of Faversham fishermen. "They used the King . . . very incivilly," says Reresby,—“took from His Majesty 300 guineas, all he was worth at that time, and his sword. When they knew it was the King, they offered to restore both; the King received the latter, but not the first” (*Memoirs*, 1875, p. 424). He was detained at Faversham for two days in the Mayor's house, and then allowed to go to Rochester; but on the evening of Sunday the 16th (see *infra*) he was again at Whitehall.]

¹ [Having been at Whitehall on the 16th, he was sent back to Rochester on the 17th (Monday). On the night of Saturday, the 22nd, he left Rochester, passed to the Medway, and, on the morning of the 23rd boarded a smack which took him out of the Thames. At 3 A.M. on Christmas Day, 1688, he landed at the little village of Ambleteuse in Brittany. His abdication is usually dated from 11th December, when he first quitted Whitehall. “With this,” says Burnet, “his reign ended” (*History of His Own Time*, 1724, i. p. 796).]



King James II

The Chancellor, Earl of Peterborough, and divers others taken. The Earl of Sunderland flies; Sir Edward Hales, Walker, and others, taken and secured.

All the world go to see the Prince at St. James's, where there is a great Court. There I saw him, and several of my acquaintance who came over with him. He is very stately, serious, and reserved. The English soldiers sent out of town to disband them; not well pleased.

24th December. The King passes into France, whither the Queen and child were gone a few days before.¹

26th. The Peers and such Commoners as were members of the Parliament at Oxford, being the last of Charles II. meeting, desire the Prince of Orange to take on him the disposal of the public revenue till a convention of Lords and Commons should meet in full body, appointed by his circular letters to the shires and boroughs, 22nd January. I had now quartered upon me a Lieutenant-Colonel and eight horses.

30th. This day prayers for the Prince of Wales were first left off in our church.

1688-9: *7th January.* A long frost and deep snow; the Thames almost frozen over.

15th. I visited the Archbishop of Canterbury, where I found the Bishops of St. Asaph,² Ely,³ Bath and Wells,⁴ Peterborough,⁵ and Chichester,⁶ the Earls of Aylesbury and Clarendon, Sir George Mackenzie⁷ Lord-Advocate of Scotland, and then came in a Scotch Archbishop, etc. After prayers and dinner, divers serious matters were discoursed,

¹ [See *ante*, p. 247. Louis XIV. gave the fugitives asylum at St. Germain. There is an account of their reception in a letter of Mme. de Sévigné to her daughter early in 1689.]

² Lloyd. ³ Turner. ⁴ Ken. ⁵ White. ⁶ Lake.

⁷ See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 268.

concerning the present state of the Public, and sorry I was to find there was as yet no accord in the judgments of those of the Lords and Commons who were to convene; some would have the Princess made Queen without any more dispute, others were for a Regency; there was a Tory party (then so called), who were for inviting his Majesty again upon conditions; and there were Republicarians who would make the Prince of Orange like a Stadtholder. The Romanists were busy among these several parties to bring them into confusion: most for ambition or other interest, few for conscience and moderate resolutions. I found nothing of all this in this assembly of Bishops, who were pleased to admit me into their discourses; they were all for a Regency, thereby to salve their oaths, and so all public matters to proceed in his Majesty's name, by that to facilitate the calling of a Parliament, according to the laws in being. Such was the result of this meeting.

My Lord of Canterbury gave me great thanks for the advertisement I sent him in October,¹ and assured me they took my counsel in that particular, and that it came very seasonably.

I found by the Lord-Advocate² that the Bishops of Scotland (who were indeed little worthy of that character, and had done much mischief in that Church) were now coming about to the true interest, in this conjuncture which threatened to abolish the whole hierarchy in that kingdom; and therefore the Scottish Archbishop and Lord-Advocate requested the Archbishop of Canterbury to use his best endeavours with the Prince to maintain the Church there in the same state, as by law at present settled.

It now growing late, after some private discourse with his Grace, I took my leave, most of the Lords being gone.

¹ See *ante*, p. 241.

² [Sir George Mackenzie.]

The trial of the bishops was now printed.

The great convention being assembled the day before, falling upon the question about the Government, resolved that King James having by the advice of the Jesuits and other wicked persons endeavoured to subvert the laws of Church and State, and deserted the kingdom, carrying away the seals,¹ etc., without any care for the management of the government, had by demise abdicated himself and wholly vacated his right; they did therefore desire the Lords' concurrence to their vote, to place the crown on the next heir, the Prince of Orange, for his life, then to the Princess, his wife, and if she died without issue, to the Princess of Denmark, and she failing, to the heirs of the Prince, excluding for ever all possibility of admitting a Roman Catholic.

27th January. I dined at the Admiralty, where was brought in a child not twelve years old, the son of one Dr. Clench, of the most prodigious maturity of knowledge, for I cannot call it altogether memory, but something more extraordinary.² Mr. Pepys and myself examined him, not in any method, but with promiscuous questions, which required judgment and discernment to answer so readily and pertinently. There was not anything in chronology, history, geography, the several systems of astronomy, courses of the stars, longitude, latitude, doctrine of the spheres, courses and sources of rivers, creeks, harbours, eminent cities, boundaries and bearings of countries, not only in Europe, but in any other part of the earth, which he did

¹ [The Great Seal was thrown into the Thames upon the King's first attempt to escape (see *ante*, p. 248 n.).]

² See a similar account of the afterwards celebrated William Wotton, *ante*, p. 31. Dr. Andrew Clench was murdered in a hackney-coach in 1692, and a man named Henry Harrison was convicted and hanged for the murder although he denied his guilt (see *post*, p. 291).

not readily resolve and demonstrate his knowledge of, readily drawing out with a pen anything he would describe. He was able not only to repeat the most famous things which are left us in any of the Greek or Roman histories, monarchies, republics, wars, colonies, exploits by sea and land, but all the sacred stories of the Old and New Testament; the succession of all the monarchies, Babylonian, Persian, Greek, Roman, with all the lower Emperors, Popes, Heresiarchs, and Councils, what they were called about, what they determined, or in the controversy about Easter, the tenets of the Gnostics, Sabellians, Arians, Nestorians; the difference between St. Cyprian and Stephen about re-baptization; the schisms. We leaped from that to other things totally different, to Olympic years, and synchronisms; we asked him questions which could not be resolved without considerable meditation and judgment, nay of some particulars of the Civil Laws, of the Digest and Code. He gave a stupendous account of both natural and moral philosophy, and even in metaphysics.

Having thus exhausted ourselves rather than this wonderful child, or angel rather, for he was as beautiful and lovely in countenance as in knowledge, we concluded with asking him if, in all he had read or heard of, he had ever met with anything which was like this expedition of the Prince of Orange, with so small a force to obtain three great kingdoms without any contest. After a little thought, he told us that he knew of nothing which did more resemble it than the coming of Constantine the Great out of Britain, through France and Italy, so tedious a march, to meet Maxentius, whom he overthrew at Pons Milvius with very little conflict, and at the very gates of Rome, which he entered and was received with triumph, and obtained the empire, not of three kingdoms only, but of all the

then known world. He was perfect in the Latin authors, spake French naturally, and gave us a description of France, Italy, Savoy, Spain, ancient and modernly divided; as also of ancient Greece, Scythia, and northern countries and tracts: we left questioning further. He did this without any set or formal repetitions, as one who had learned things without book, but as if he minded other things, going about the room, and toying with a parrot there, and as he was at dinner (*tanquam aliud agens*, as it were) seeming to be full of play, of a lively, sprightly temper, always smiling, and exceeding pleasant, without the least levity, rudeness, or childishness.

His father assured us he never imposed anything to charge his memory by causing him to get things by heart, not even the rules of grammar; but his tutor (who was a Frenchman) read to him, first in French, then in Latin; that he usually played amongst other boys four or five hours every day, and that he was as earnest at his play as at his study. He was perfect in arithmetic, and now newly entered into Greek. In sum (*horresco referens*), I had read of divers forward and precocious youths, and some I have known, but I never did either hear or read of anything like to this sweet child, if it be right to call him child who has more knowledge than most men in the world. I counselled his father not to set his heart too much on this jewel,

*Immodicis brevis est ætas, et rara senectus,*¹

as I myself learned by sad experience in my most dear child Richard,² many years since, who, dying before he was six years old, was both in shape and countenance and pregnancy of learning, next to a prodigy.

¹ [Martial, *Epp.* Bk. VI. xxix. ll. 7, 8.]

² See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 127.

29th January. The votes of the House of Commons being carried up by Mr. Hampden,¹ their chairman, to the Lords, I got a station by the Prince's lodgings at the door of the lobby to the House, and heard much of the debate, which lasted very long. Lord Derby² was in the chair (for the House was resolved into a grand committee of the whole House); after all had spoken, it came to the question, which was carried by three voices against a Regency, which 51 were for, 54 against; the minority alleging the danger of dethroning Kings, and scrupling many passages and expressions in the vote of the Commons, too long to set down particularly. Some were for sending to his Majesty with conditions: others that the King could do no wrong, and that the mal-administration was chargeable on his ministers. There were not more than eight or nine bishops, and but two against the Regency; the Archbishop was absent, and the clergy now began to change their note, both in pulpit and discourse, on their old passive obedience, so as people began to talk of the bishops being cast out of the House. In short, things tended to dissatisfaction on both sides; add to this, the morose temper of the Prince of Orange, who showed little countenance to the noblemen and others, who expected a more gracious and cheerful reception when they made their court. The English army also was not so in order, and firm to his interest, nor so weakened but that it might give interruption. Ireland was in an ill posture as well as Scotland. Nothing was yet done towards a settlement. God of His infinite mercy compose these things, that we may be at last a Nation and a Church under some fixed and sober establishment!

¹ [See *ante*, p. 61.]

² [William George Richard Stanley, ninth Earl of Derby, 1656-1702.]

30th January. The anniversary of King Charles the First's *martyrdom*; but in all the public offices and pulpit prayers, the collects, and litany for the King and Queen were curtailed and mutilated. Dr. Sharp¹ preached before the Commons, but was disliked, and not thanked for his sermon.

31st. At our church (the next day being appointed a Thanksgiving for deliverance by the Prince of Orange, with prayers purposely composed), our lecturer preached in the afternoon a very honest sermon, showing our duty to God for the many signal deliverances of our Church, without touching on politics.

6th February. The King's coronation-day was ordered not to be observed, as hitherto it had been.

The Convention of the Lords and Commons now declare the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland (Scotland being an independent kingdom), the Prince and Princess being to enjoy it jointly during their lives; but the executive authority to be vested in the Prince during life, though all proceedings to run in both names, and that it should descend to their issue, and for want of such, to the Princess Anne of Denmark and her issue, and in want of such, to the heirs of the body of the Prince, if he survive, and that failing, to devolve to the Parliament, as they should think fit. These produced a conference with the Lords, when also there were presented heads of such new laws as were to be enacted. It is thought on these conditions they will be proclaimed.

There was much contest about the King's abdication, and whether he had vacated the government. The Earl of Nottingham² and about twenty Lords, and many Bishops, entered their protests, but the concurrence was great against them.

¹ [See *ante*, p. 206.]

² [See *ante*, p. 243.]

The Princess hourly expected. Forces sending to Ireland, that kingdom being in great danger by the Earl of Tyrconnel's army, and expectations from France coming to assist them, but that King was busy in invading Flanders, and encountering the German Princes. It is likely that this will be the most remarkable summer for action, which has happened in many years.

21st February. Dr. Burnet preached at St. James's on the obligation to walk worthy of God's particular and signal deliverance of the Nation and Church.

I saw the *new Queen* and *King* proclaimed the very next day after her coming to Whitehall, Wednesday, 13th February, with great acclamation and general good reception. Bonfires, bells, guns, etc. It was believed that both, especially the Princess, would have showed some (seeming) reluctance at least, of assuming her father's Crown, and made some apology, testifying by her regret that he should by his mismanagement necessitate the Nation to so extraordinary a proceeding, which would have showed very handsomely to the world, and according to the character given of her piety; consonant also to her husband's first declaration, that there was no intention of deposing the King, but of succouring the Nation; but nothing of all this appeared; she came into Whitehall laughing and jolly, as to a wedding, so as to seem quite transported. She rose early the next morning, and in her undress, as it was reported, before her women were up, went about from room to room to see the convenience of Whitehall; lay in the same bed and apartment where the late Queen lay, and within a night or two sat down to play at basset, as the Queen her predecessor used to do. She smiled upon and talked to everybody, so that no change seemed

to have taken place at Court since her last going away, save that infinite crowds of people thronged to see her, and that she went to our prayers. This carriage was censured by many. She seems to be of a good nature, and that she takes nothing to heart: whilst the Prince her husband has a thoughtful countenance, is wonderful serious and silent and seems to treat all persons alike gravely, and to be very intent on affairs: Holland, Ireland, and France calling for his care.

Divers Bishops and Noblemen are not at all satisfied with this so sudden assumption of the Crown, without any previous sending, and offering some conditions to the absent King; or, on his not returning, or not assenting to those conditions, to have proclaimed him Regent; but the major part of both Houses prevailed to make them King and Queen immediately, and a crown was tempting. This was opposed and spoken against with such vehemence by Lord Clarendon (her own uncle),¹ that it put him by all preferment, which must doubtless have been as great as could have been given him. My Lord of Rochester his brother,² overshot himself, by the same carriage and stiffness, which their friends thought they might have well spared when they saw how it was like to be overruled, and that it had been sufficient to have declared their dissent with less passion, acquiescing in due time.

The Archbishop of Canterbury and some of the rest, on scruple of conscience and to salve the oaths they had taken, entered their protests and hung off, especially the Archbishop, who had not all this while so much as appeared out of Lambeth. This occasioned the wonder of many who observed with what zeal they contributed to the Prince's expedition, and all the while also rejecting any proposals

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 214.]

² [See *ante*, p. 41.]

of sending again to the absent King; that they should now raise scruples, and such as created much division among the people, greatly rejoicing the old courtiers, and especially the Papists.

Another objection was, the invalidity of what was done by a Convention only, and the as yet unabrogated laws; this drew them to make themselves on the 22nd [February]¹ a Parliament, the new King passing the Act with the crown on his head. The lawyers disputed, but necessity prevailed, the Government requiring a speedy settlement.

Innumerable were the crowds, who solicited for, and expected offices; most of the old ones were turned out. Two or three white staves were disposed of some days before, as Lord Steward, to the Earl of Devonshire;² Treasurer of the Household, to Lord Newport;³ Lord Chamberlain to the King, to my Lord of Dorset;⁴ but there were as yet none in offices of the Civil Government save the Marquis of Halifax as Privy Seal. A council of thirty was chosen, Lord Derby president, but neither Chancellor nor Judges were yet declared, the new Great Seal not yet finished.

8th March. Dr. Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury, made an excellent discourse on Matt. v. 44, exhorting to charity and forgiveness of enemies; I suppose purposely, the new Parliament being furious about impeaching those who were obnoxious, and as their custom has ever been, going on violently, without reserve, or moderation, whilst wise men were of opinion the most notorious offenders being named and excepted, an Act of Amnesty would be more seasonable, to pacify the minds of men in so general a discontent of the nation, especially of those who did not expect to

¹ [1 Gul. and Mar. c. 1.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 162.]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 56.]

⁴ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 360.]

see the government assumed without any regard to the absent King, or proving a spontaneous abdication, or that the birth of the Prince of Wales was an imposture; five of the Bishops also still refusing to take the new oath.¹

In the meantime, to gratify the people, the *Hearth-Tax* was remitted for ever;² but what was intended to supply it, besides present great taxes on land, is not named.

The King abroad was now furnished by the French King with money and officers for an expedition to Ireland. The great neglect in not more timely preventing that from hence, and the disturbances in Scotland, give apprehensions of great difficulties, before any settlement can be perfected here, whilst the Parliament dispose of the great offices amongst themselves. The Great Seal, Treasury and Admiralty put into commission of many unexpected persons, to gratify the more; so that by the present appearance of things (unless God Almighty graciously interpose and give success in Ireland and settle Scotland) more trouble seems to threaten the nation than could be expected. In the interim, the new King refers all to the Parliament in the most popular manner, but is very slow in providing against all these menaces, besides finding difficulties in raising men to send abroad; the former army, which had never seen any service hitherto, receiving their pay and passing their summer in an idle scene of a camp at Hounslow, unwilling to engage, and many disaffected, and scarce to be trusted.

29th March. The new King much blamed for neglecting Ireland, now like to be ruined by the

¹ [Seven bishops refused, *i.e.* Bath and Wells, Chichester, Ely, Gloucester, Norwich, Peterborough, and Worcester, in addition to the Archbishop of Canterbury.]

² [1 Gul. and Mar. c. 10.]

Lord Tyrconnel and his Popish party, too strong for the Protestants. Wonderful uncertainty where King James was, whether in France or Ireland. The Scots seem as yet to favour King William, rejecting King James's letter to them, yet declaring nothing positively. Soldiers in England discontented. Parliament preparing the coronation-oath. Presbyterians and Dissenters displeased at the vote for preserving the Protestant religion as established by law, without mentioning what they were to have as to indulgence.

The Archbishop of Canterbury¹ and four² other Bishops refusing to come to Parliament, it was deliberated whether they should incur *Præmunire*; but it was thought fit to let this fall, and be connived at, for fear of the people, to whom these Prelates were very dear, for the opposition they had given to Popery.

Court-offices distributed amongst Parliament-men. No considerable fleet as yet sent forth. Things far from settled as was expected, by reason of the slothful, sickly temper of the new King, and the Parliament's unmindfulness of Ireland, which is likely to prove a sad omission.

The Confederates beat the French out of the Palatinate, which they had most barbarously ruined.

11th April. I saw the procession to and from the Abbey-Church of Westminster, with the great feast in Westminster-Hall, at the coronation of King William and Queen Mary. What was

¹ [Sancroft.]

² Burnet names only three besides the Archbishop, namely, Thomas of Worcester, Lake of Chichester, Ken of Bath and Wells. He says (*History of His Own Time*, 1734, ii. pp. 6, 7) that at the first landing of the Prince, Ken "declared heartily for him," and advised all to go to him; but went with great heat into the notion of a Regent. After this, he changed his mind, came to town with intent to take the oaths, but again changed, and never did take them.

different from former coronations, was some alteration in the coronation-oath. Dr. Burnet, now made Bishop of Sarum, preached with great applause. The Parliament-men had scaffolds and places which took up one whole side of the Hall. When the King and Queen had dined, the ceremony of the Champion, and other services by tenure were performed. The Parliament-men were feasted in the Exchequer-chamber, and had each of them a gold medal given them, worth five-and-forty shillings. On one side were the effigies of the King and Queen inclining one to the other; on the reverse was Jupiter throwing a bolt at Phaeton, the words, "*Ne totus absumatur*": which was but dull, seeing they might have had out of the poet something as apposite. The sculpture was very mean.

Much of the splendour of the proceeding was abated by the absence of divers who should have contributed to it, there being but five Bishops, four Judges (no more being yet sworn), and several noblemen and great ladies wanting; the feast, however, was magnificent. The next day the House of Commons went and kissed their new Majesties' hands in the Banqueting-house.

12th April. I went with the Bishop of St. Asaph to visit my Lord of Canterbury at Lambeth, who had excused himself from officiating at the coronation, which was performed by the Bishop of London,¹ assisted by the Archbishop of York.² We had much private and free discourse with his Grace concerning several things relating to the Church, there being now a bill of comprehension to be brought from the Lords to the Commons. I urged that when they went about to reform some particulars in the Liturgy, Church discipline, Canons, etc., the baptizing in private houses with-

¹ [Dr. Compton.]

² [Dr. Lloyd.]

out necessity might be reformed, as likewise so frequent burials in churches;¹ the one proceeding much from the pride of women, bringing that into custom which was only indulged in case of imminent danger, and out of necessity during the rebellion, and persecution of the clergy in our late civil wars; the other from the avarice of ministers, who, in some opulent parishes, made almost as much of permission to bury in the chancel and the church, as of their livings, and were paid with considerable advantage and gifts for baptizing in chambers. To this they heartily assented, and promised their endeavour to get it reformed, utterly disliking both practices as novel and indecent.

We discoursed likewise of the great disturbance and prejudice it might cause, should the new oath, now on the anvil, be imposed on any, save such as were in new office, without any retrospect to such as either had no office, or had been long in office, who it was likely would have some scruples about taking a new oath, having already sworn fidelity to the government as established by law. This we all knew to be the case of my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and some other persons who were not so fully satisfied with the Convention making it an abdication of King James, to whom they had sworn allegiance.

King James was now certainly in Ireland² with the Marshal d'Estrades, whom he made a Privy Councillor; and who caused the King to remove the Protestant Councillors, some whereof, it seems, had continued to sit, telling him that the King of France his master would never assist him if he did not immediately do it; by which it is

¹ [See *ante*, p. 92 n.]

² [He had landed at Kinsale on the 12th March, entered Dublin March 24, and by the 20th April was besieging Londonderry (see *infra*, p. 264).]

apparent how the poor Prince is managed by the French.

Scotland declares for King William and Queen Mary,¹ with the reasons of their setting aside King James, not as abdicating, but forfeiting his right by mal-administration; they proceeded with much more caution and prudence than we did, who precipitated all things to the great reproach of the nation, all which had been managed by some crafty, ill-principled men. The new Privy Council have a Republican spirit, manifestly undermining all future succession of the crown and prosperity of the Church of England, which yet I hope they will not be able to accomplish so soon as they expect, though they get into all places of trust and profit.

21st April. This was one of the most seasonable springs, free from the usual sharp east winds that I have observed since the year 1660 (the year of the Restoration), which was much such an one.

26th. I heard the lawyers plead before the Lords the writ of error in the judgment of Oates, as to the charge against him of perjury, which after debate they referred to the answer of Holloway, etc., who were his Judges.² I then went with the Bishop of St. Asaph to the Archbishop at Lambeth, where they entered into discourse concerning the final destruction of Antichrist, both concluding that the third trumpet and vial were now pouring out. My Lord St. Asaph considered the killing of the two witnesses, to be the utter destruction of the Cevennes Protestants by the French and Duke of Savoy, and the other the Waldenses and Pyrenean Christians, who by all appearance from

¹ [They were proclaimed on the 11th April.]

² [See *ante*, p. 161. His judges, with Jeffreys, had been Sir Richard Holloway and Sir Francis Wythens, who attended at the bar of the House of Lords to defend their sentence. Jeffreys had just died in prison, aged forty, 18th April, 1689.]

good history had kept the primitive faith from the very Apostles' time till now. The doubt his Grace suggested was, whether it could be made evident that the present persecution had made so great a havoc of those faithful people as of the other, and whether there were not yet some among them in being who met together, it being stated from the text, Apoc. xi., that they should both be slain together. They both much approved of Mr. Mede's¹ way of interpretation, and that he only failed in resolving too hastily on the King of Sweden's (Gustavus Adolphus) success in Germany. They agreed that it would be good to employ some intelligent French minister to travel as far as the Pyrenees to understand the present state of the Church there, it being a country where hardly any one travels.

There now came certain news that King James had not only landed in Ireland, but that he had surprised Londonderry, and was become master of that kingdom, to the great shame of our Government, who had been so often solicited to provide against it by timely succour, and which they might so easily have done. This is a terrible beginning of more troubles, especially should an army come thence into Scotland, people being generally disaffected here and every else, so that the sea and land men would scarce serve without compulsion.

A new oath was now fabricating for all the clergy to take, of obedience to the present Government, in abrogation of the former oaths of allegiance, which it is foreseen many of the Bishops and others of the clergy will not take. The penalty is to be the loss of their dignity and spiritual preferment. This is thought to have been driven on by the Presbyterians, our new governors. God in mercy

¹ [Joseph Mead, or Mede, 1586-1638, author of the *Clavis Apocalyptica*.]

send us help, and direct the counsels to His glory and good of His Church !

Public matters went very ill in Ireland : confusion and dissension amongst ourselves, stupidity, inconstancy, emulation, the governors employing unskilful men in greatest offices, no person of public spirit and ability appearing,—threaten us with a very sad prospect of what may be the conclusion, without God's infinite mercy.

A fight by Admiral Herbert with the French,¹ he imprudently setting on them in a creek as they were landing men in Ireland, by which we came off with great slaughter and little honour—so strangely negligent and remiss were we in preparing a timely and sufficient fleet. The Scots Commissioners offer the crown to the *new King and Queen* on conditions.—Act of Poll-money came forth, sparing none.—Now appeared the Act of Indulgence for the Dissenters, but not exempting them paying dues to the Church of England Clergy, or serving in office according to law, with several other clauses.²—A most splendid embassy from Holland to congratulate the King and Queen on their accession to the crown.

4th June. A solemn fast for success of the fleet, etc.

6th. I dined with the Bishop of St. Asaph ; Monsieur Capellus, the learned son of the most learned Ludovicus, presented to him his father's works, not published till now.

7th. I visited the Archbishop of Canterbury,

¹ [May 1, in Bantry Bay. "As they [the French] came out of Bantry Bay, Herbert engaged them. The wind was against him : So that it was not possible for the greatest part of the Fleet to come up, and enter into action : And so those who engaged were forced to retire with some disadvantage" (Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, 1734, ii. 20).]

² [The Toleration Act (1 Gul. and Mar. c. 18), 24th May, 1689.]

and staid with him till about seven o'clock. He read to me the Pope's excommunication of the French King.

9th June. Visited Dr. Burnet, now Bishop of Sarum; got him to let Mr. Kneller draw his picture.¹

16th. King James's declaration was now dispersed, offering pardon to all, if on his landing, or within twenty days after, they should return to their obedience.

Our fleet not yet at sea, through some prodigious sloth, and men minding only their present interest; the French riding masters at sea, taking many great prizes to our wonderful reproach. No certain news from Ireland; various reports of Scotland; discontents at home. The King of Denmark at last joins with the Confederates, and the two Northern Powers are reconciled. The East India Company likely to be dissolved by Parliament for many arbitrary actions. Oates acquitted of perjury, to all honest men's admiration.²

20th. News of a *Plot* discovered, on which divers were sent to the Tower and secured.³

28rd. An extraordinary drought, to the threatening of great wants as to the fruits of the earth.

8th July. I sat for my picture to Mr. Kneller, for Mr. Pepys, late Secretary to the Admiralty, holding my *Sylva* in my right hand.⁴ It was on his long and earnest request, and is placed in his

¹ [Kneller's picture of Burnet is dated 1693.]

² ["Admiration" must here mean "astonishment." He was released from prison on the prorogation of Parliament (20th August), "and obtained from the King [William III.], at the earnest request of his faithful Commons, a pension of five pounds a week" (Seecombe's "Titus Oates," in *Twelve Bad Men*, 1894, 147).]

³ [Lords Peterborough, Salisbury, Castlemaine, Sir Edward Hales, and Obadiah Walker.]

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 185. This must have been a second picture.]

library. Kneller never painted in a more masterly manner.

11th July. I dined at Lord Clarendon's, it being his lady's wedding-day, when about three in the afternoon there was an unusual and violent storm of thunder, rain, and wind; many boats on the Thames were overwhelmed, and such was the impetuosity of the wind as to carry up the waves in pillars and spouts most dreadful to behold, rooting up trees and ruining some houses. The Countess of Sunderland afterwards told me that it extended as far as Althorp at the very time, which is seventy miles from London. It did no harm at Deptford, but at Greenwich it did much mischief.

16th. I went to Hampton Court about business, the Council being there. A great apartment and spacious garden with fountains was beginning in the park at the head of the canal.¹

19th. The Marshal de Schomberg² went now as General towards Ireland, to the relief of Londonderry. Our fleet lie before Brest. The Confederates passing the Rhine, besiege Bonn and Mayence, to obtain a passage into France. A great victory got by the Muscovites, taking and burning Perecop. A new rebel against the Turks threatens the destruction of that tyranny. All Europe in arms against France, and hardly to be found in history so universal a face of war.

The Convention (or Parliament as some called it) sitting, exempt the Duke of Hanover from the succession to the crown, which they seem to confine to the present new King, his wife, and Princess Anne of Denmark, who is so monstrously swollen, that it's doubted whether her being thought with child may prove a *tympany* only, so

¹ [What is called Fountain Court and the eastern frontage, was now added by Sir Christopher Wren.]

² [Armand Frederick, Duke of Schomberg, 1619-90.]

that the unhappy family of the Stuarts seems to be extinguishing; and then what government is likely to be next set up is unknown, whether regal and by election, or otherwise, the Republicans and Dissenters from the Church of England evidently looking that way.

The Scots have now again voted down Episcopacy there.—Great discontents through this nation at the slow proceedings of the King, and the incompetent instruments and officers he advances to the greatest and most necessary charges.

23rd August. Came to visit me Mr. Firmin.¹

25th. Hitherto it has been a most seasonable summer.—Londonderry relieved after a brave and wonderful holding out.²

21st September. I went to visit the Archbishop of Canterbury since his suspension, and was received with great kindness.—A dreadful fire happened in Southwark.

2nd October. Came to visit us the Marquis de Ruvigny,³ and one Monsieur le Coque, a French refugee, who left great riches for his religion; a very learned, civil person; he married the sister of the Duchess de la Force.—Ottoboni, a Venetian Cardinal, eighty years old, made Pope.⁴

31st October. My birthday, being now sixty-nine years old. Blessed Father, who has prolonged my

¹ Thomas Firmin, 1632-97. He was a man of the most amiable character, and unbounded charity: a great friend of Sir Robert Clayton, who, after his death, erected a monument for him in a walk which he had formed at Sir Robert's seat at Marden, in Surrey. He was very fond of gardens, and so far of a congenial spirit with Mr. Evelyn; and though Unitarian in creed, he lived in intimacy with many of the most eminent clergy. His life was printed in a small volume. There is more of him in Manning and Bray's *Surrey*, vol. ii. pp. 804, 805.

² [By Major-General Kirke on July 30 (see *ante*, p. 202).]

³ [See *ante*, p. 209.]

⁴ Peter Ottoboni succeeded Innocent XI. as Pope, October 6, 1689, by the title of Alexander VIII.

years to this great age, and given me to see so great and wonderful revolutions, and preserved me amidst them to this moment, accept, I beseech thee, the continuance of my prayers and thankful acknowledgments, and grant me grace to be working out my salvation and redeeming the time, that Thou mayst be glorified by me here, and my immortal soul saved whenever Thou shalt call for it, to perpetuate Thy praises to all eternity, in that heavenly kingdom where there are no more changes or vicissitudes, but rest, and peace, and joy, and consummate felicity, for ever. Grant this, O heavenly Father, for the sake of Jesus thine only Son and our Saviour. Amen!

5th November. The Bishop of St. Asaph,¹ Lord-Almoner, preached before the King and Queen, the whole discourse being an historical narrative of the Church of England's several deliverances, especially that of this anniversary, signalised by being also the birthday of the Prince of Orange, his marriage (which was on the 4th), and his landing at Torbay this day. There was a splendid ball and other rejoicings.

10th. After a very wet season, the winter came on severely.

17th. Much wet, without frost, yet the wind north and easterly.—A Convocation of the Clergy meet about a reformation of our Liturgy, Canons, etc., obstructed by others of the clergy.

27th. I went to London with my family, to winter at Soho, in the great square.

1689-90: *11th January.* This night there was a most extraordinary storm of wind, accompanied with snow and sharp weather; it did great harm in many places, blowing down houses, trees, etc., killing many people. It began about two in the morning, and lasted till five, being a kind of

¹ [Dr. Lloyd.]

hurricane, which mariners observe have begun of late years to come northward. This winter has been hitherto extremely wet, warm, and windy.

12th *January*. There was read at St. Ann's Church an exhortatory letter to the clergy of London from the Bishop, together with a Brief for relieving the distressed Protestants, the Vaudois, who fled from the persecution of the French and Duke of Savoy, to the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland.

The Parliament was unexpectedly prorogued to 2nd April, to the discontent and surprise of many members who, being exceeding averse to the settling of anything, proceeding with animosities, multiplying exceptions against those whom they pronounced obnoxious, and producing as universal a discontent against King William and themselves, as there was before against King James.—The new King resolved on an expedition into Ireland in person. About 150 of the members who were of the more royal party, meeting at a feast at the Apollo Tavern near St. Dunstan's,¹ sent some of their company to the King, to assure him of their service; he returned his thanks, advising them to repair to their several counties and preserve the peace during his absence, and assuring them that he would be steady to his resolution of defending the Laws and Religion established.—The great Lord suspected to have counselled this prorogation, universally denied it. However, it was believed the chief adviser was the Marquis of Carmarthen,² who now seemed to be most in favour.

¹ [The Apollo, or Devil Tavern, which once stood between Temple Bar and the Middle Temple Gate. The Royal Society sometimes adjourned to it after meeting at Arundel House (cf. Pepys' *Diary*, 23rd October, 1668).]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 31. Danby had been made Marquis of Carmarthen in 1689.]

2nd February. The Parliament was dissolved by proclamation, and another called to meet the 20th of March. This was a second surprise to the former members; and now the Court-party, or, as they call themselves, Church of England, are making their interests in the country. The Marquis of Halifax¹ lays down his office of Privy Seal, and pretends to retire.

16th. The Duchess of Monmouth's chaplain preached at St. Martin's an excellent discourse, exhorting to peace and sanctity, it being now the time of very great division and dissension in the nation; first, amongst the Churchmen, of whom the moderate and sober part were for a speedy reformation of divers things, which it was thought might be made in our Liturgy, for the inviting of Dissenters; others more stiff and rigid, were for no condescension at all. Books and pamphlets were published every day *pro* and *con.*; the Convocation were forced for the present to suspend any further progress.—There was fierce and great carousing about being elected in the new Parliament.—The King persists in his intention of going in person for Ireland, whither the French are sending supplies to King James, and we, the Danish horse to Schomberg.

19th. I dined with the Marquis of Carmarthen (late Lord Danby), where was Lieutenant-General Douglas, a very considerate and sober commander, going for Ireland. He related to us the exceeding neglect of the English soldiers, suffering severely for want of clothes and necessaries this winter, exceedingly magnifying their courage and bravery during all their hardships. There dined also Lord Lucas, Lieutenant of the Tower, and the Bishop of St. Asaph.—The Privy Seal was again put in

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 194. The Marquis of Halifax was Lord Privy Seal, 1689-90.]

commission, Mr. Cheyne¹ (who married my kinswoman, Mrs. Pierrepont), Sir Thomas Knatchbull, and Sir P. W. Pulteney.—The imprudence of both sexes was now become so great and universal, persons of all ranks keeping their courtesans publicly, that the King had lately directed a letter to the Bishops to order their clergy to preach against that sin, swearing, etc., and to put the ecclesiastical laws in execution without any indulgence.

25th February. I went to Kensington,² which King William had bought of Lord Nottingham, and altered, but was yet a patched building, but with the garden, however, it is a very sweet villa, having to it the park and a straight new way through this park.

7th March. I dined with Mr. Pepys, late Secretary to the Admiralty, where was that excellent shipwright and seaman (for so he had been, and also a Commissioner of the Navy), Sir Anthony Deane.³ Amongst other discourse, and deploring the sad condition of our navy, as now governed by inexperienced men since this Revolution, he mentioned what exceeding advantage we of this nation had by being the first who built frigates, the first of which ever built was that vessel which was afterwards called the *Constant Warwick*, and was the work of Pett⁴ of Chatham,

¹ [Son of Charles Lord Viscount Cheyne, d. 1698 (see *post*, under 18th May, 1692).]

² [King William fixed upon Kensington because, being obliged to select a residence near London, he could at any time ride readily to his country house at Hampton. He bought it of the second Earl of Nottingham for 18,000 guineas, and had it altered by Wren, who added the higher story.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 80.]

⁴ [Peter Pett (see *ante*, vol. i. p. 26). “The *Constant Warwick*, says Pepys, was the first frigate built in England. She was built in 1649 by Mr. Peter Pett for a privateer for the Earl of Warwick, and was sold by him to the States. Mr. Pett took his

for a trial of making a vessel that would sail swiftly ; it was built with low decks, the guns lying near the water, and was so light and swift of sailing, that in a short time he told us she had, ere the Dutch war was ended, taken as much money from privateers as would have laden her ; and that more such being built, did in a year or two scour the Channel from those of Dunkirk and others which had exceedingly infested it. He added that it would be the best and only infallible expedient to be masters of the sea, and able to destroy the greatest navy of any enemy if, instead of building huge great ships and second and third rates, they would leave off building such high decks, which were for nothing but to gratify gentlemen-commanders, who must have all their effeminate accommodations, and for pomp ; that it would be the ruin of our fleets, if such persons were continued in command, they neither having experience nor being capable of learning, because they would not submit to the fatigue and inconvenience which those who were bred seamen would undergo, in those so otherwise useful swift frigates. These being to encounter the greatest ships would be able to protect, set on, and bring off, those who should manage the fire-ships ; and the Prince who should first store himself with numbers of such fire-ships would, through the help and countenance of such frigates, be able to ruin the greatest force of such vast ships as could be sent to sea, by the dexterity of working those light, swift ships to guard the fire-ships. He concluded there would shortly be no other method of sea-fight ; and that great ships and men-of-war, however stored with guns and men, must submit to those who should

model of a frigate from a French frigate, which he had seen in the Thames, as his son Sir Phineas Pett acknowledged to me ” (*Dews’ Deptford*, 1884, pp. 220-21.)

encounter them with far less number. He represented to us the dreadful effect of these fire-ships; that he continually observed in our late maritime war with the Dutch that, when an enemy's fire-ship approached, the most valiant commander and common sailors were in such consternation, that though then, of all times, there was most need of the guns, bombs, etc., to keep the mischief off, they grew pale and astonished, as if of a quite other mean soul, that they slunk about, forsook their guns and work as if in despair, every one looking about to see which way they might get out of their ship, though sure to be drowned if they did so. This he said was likely to prove hereafter the method of sea-fight, likely to be the misfortune of England if they continued to put gentlemen-commanders over experienced seamen, on account of their ignorance, effeminacy, and insolence.

9th March. Preached at Whitehall Dr. Burnet, late Bishop of Sarum,¹ on Heb. iv. 13, anatomically describing the texture of the eye; and that, as it received such innumerable sorts of spies through so very small a passage to the brain, and that without the least confusion or trouble, and accordingly judged and reflected on them; so God who made this sensory, did with the greatest ease and at once see all that was done through the vast universe, even to the very thought as well as action. This similitude he continued with much perspicuity and aptness; and applied it accordingly, for the admonishing us how uprightly we ought to live and behave ourselves before such an all-seeing Deity; and how we were to conceive of other His attributes, which we could have no idea of than by comparing them by what we were able to conceive of the nature and power of things, which were the

¹ [He was Bishop of Salisbury until his death; Evelyn must mean that he had lately been made Bishop (1689).]

objects of our senses ; and therefore it was that in Scripture we attribute those actions and affections of God by the same of man, not as adequately or in any proportion like them, but as the only expedient to make some resemblance of His divine perfections ; as when the Scripture says, “ God will remember the sins of the penitent no more ” : not as if God could forget anything, but as intimating he would pass by such penitents and receive them to mercy.

I dined at the Bishop of St. Asaph's, Almoner to the new Queen, with the famous lawyer Sir George Mackenzie (late Lord-Advocate of Scotland), against whom both the Bishop and myself had written and published books, but now most friendly reconciled.¹ He related to us many particulars of Scotland, the present sad condition of it, the inveterate hatred which the Presbyterians show to the family of the Stuarts, and the exceeding tyranny of those bigots who acknowledge no superior on earth, in civil or divine matters, maintaining that the people only have the right of government ; their implacable hatred to the Episcopal Order and Church of England. He observed that the first Presbyter-dissents from our discipline were introduced by the Jesuits' order, about the 20 of Queen Eliz., a famous Jesuit amongst them feigning himself a Protestant, and who was the first who began to pray extempore, and brought in that which they since called, and are still so fond of, praying by the Spirit. This Jesuit remained many years before he was discovered, afterwards died in Scotland, where he was buried at . . . having yet on his monument, “ *Rosa inter spinas.* ”

11th March. I went again to see Mr. Charlton's

¹ Sir George, as we have seen, had written in praise of a Private Life, which Mr. Evelyn answered by a book in praise of Public Employment, and an Active Life (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 268).

curiosities,¹ both of art and nature, and his full and rare collection of medals, which taken altogether, in all kinds, is doubtless one of the most perfect assemblages of rarities that can be anywhere seen. I much admired the contortions of the Thea root, which was so perplexed, large, and intricate, and withal hard as box, that it was wonderful to consider.—The French have landed in Ireland.²

16th March. A public fast.

24th May. City charter restored.³ Divers exempted from pardon.

4th June. King William set forth on his Irish expedition, leaving the Queen regent.

10th. Mr. Pepys read to me his Remonstrance, showing with what malice and injustice he was suspected with Sir Anthony Deane about the timber, of which the thirty ships were built by a late Act of Parliament,⁴ with the exceeding danger which the fleet would shortly be in, by reason of the tyranny and incompetency of those who now managed the Admiralty and affairs of the Navy, of which he gave an accurate state, and showed his great ability.

18th. Fast day. Visited the Bishop of St. Asaph; his conversation was on the Vaudois in Savoy, who had been thought so near destruction and final extirpation by the French, being totally given up to slaughter, so that there were no hopes for them; but now it pleased God that the Duke of Savoy, who had hitherto joined with the French in their persecution, being now pressed by them to deliver up Saluzzo and Turin as cautionary towns, on suspicion that he might at last come into the Confederacy of the German Princes, did secretly

¹ See *ante*, p. 212.

² [Under the Duke de Lauzun.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 98.]

⁴ [There is much about these thirty ships in Pepys' *Memoires Relating to the State of the Royal Navy of England*, 1690.]

concert measures with, and afterwards declared for, them. He then invited these poor people from their dispersion amongst the mountains whither they had fled, and restored them to their country, their dwellings, and the exercise of their religion, and begged pardon for the ill-usage they had received, charging it on the cruelty of the French who forced him to it. These being the remainder of those persecuted Christians which the Bishop of St. Asaph had so long affirmed to be the two witnesses spoken of in the Revelation, who should be killed and brought to life again, it was looked on as an extraordinary thing that this prophesying Bishop should persuade two fugitive ministers of the Vaudois¹ to return to their country, and furnish them with £20 towards their journey, at that very time when nothing but universal destruction was to be expected, assuring them and showing them from the Apocalypse, that their countrymen should be returned safely to their country before they arrived. This happening contrary to all expectation and appearance, did exceedingly credit the Bishop's confidence how that prophecy of the witnesses should come to pass, just at the time, and the very month, he had spoken of some years before.

I afterwards went with him to Mr. Boyle and Lady Ranelagh his sister, to whom he explained the necessity of it so fully, and so learnedly made out, with what events were immediately to follow, viz. the French King's ruin, the calling of the Jews to be near at hand, but that the Kingdom of Antichrist would not yet be utterly destroyed till 30 years, when Christ should begin the Millennium, not as personally and visibly reigning on earth, but that the true religion and universal peace should obtain through all the world. He showed how Mr.

¹ See *ante*, p. 264.

Brightman,¹ Mr. Mede,² and other interpreters of these events failed, by mistaking and reckoning the year as the Latins and others did, to consist of the present calculation, so many days to the year, whereas the Apocalypse reckons after the Persian account, as Daniel did, whose visions St. John all along explains as meaning only the Christian Church.

24th June. Dined with Mr. Pepys, who the next day was sent to the Gate-house,³ and several great persons to the Tower, on suspicion of being affected to King James; amongst them was the Earl of Clarendon, the Queen's uncle. King William having vanquished King James in Ireland,⁴ there was much public rejoicing. It seems the Irish in King James's army would not stand, but the English-Irish and French made great resistance. Schomberg was slain, and Dr. Walker, who so bravely defended Londonderry.⁵ King William received a slight wound by the grazing of a cannon bullet on his shoulder, which he endured with very little interruption of his pursuit. Hamilton, who broke his word about Tyrconnel, was taken.⁶ It is

¹ [Thomas Brightman, 1562-1607. He wrote a treatise on the Apocalypse, which was published after his death.]

² [See *ante*, p. 264.]

³ Pepys had already undergone an imprisonment, with perhaps just as much reason as the present, on the absurd accusation of having sent information to the French Court of the state of the English Navy (see *ante*, p. 29). [On this occasion, he found bail, and was soon permitted to return home on account of ill-health (see *infra*, 30th July).]

⁴ [At the Battle of the Boyne, July 1.]

⁵ George Walker, 1618-90, an Irish clergyman, who, after successfully defending Protestant Londonderry against the Popish army under James II., accompanied William III. during his decisive campaign. He published a narrative of the Siege of Derry.

⁶ [General Richard Hamilton. He had been despatched by William III. with offers to the Irish Catholics, and deserted to Tyrconnel (Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, 1723, i. p. 808). He was captured at the Battle of the Boyne, sent to the Tower, and afterwards rejoined James in France.]

reported that King James is gone back to France.¹ Drogheda and Dublin surrendered, and if King William be returning, we may say of him as Cæsar said, "*Veni, vidi, vici.*" But to alloy much of this, the French fleet rides in our channel, ours not daring to interpose, and the enemy threatening to land.

27th June. I went to visit some friends in the Tower, when asking for Lord Clarendon,² they by mistake directed me to the Earl of Torrington,³ who about three days before had been sent for from the fleet, and put into the Tower for cowardice and not fighting the French fleet, which having beaten a squadron of the Hollanders, whilst Torrington did nothing, did now ride masters of the sea, threatening a descent.

20th July. This afternoon a camp of about 4000 men was begun to be formed on Blackheath.

30th. I dined with Mr. Pepys, now suffered to return to his house,⁴ on account of indisposition.

1st August. The Duke of Grafton⁵ came to visit me, going to his ship at the mouth of the river, in his way to Ireland (where he was slain).

3rd. The French landed some soldiers at Teignmouth,⁶ in Devon, and burned some poor houses.—

¹ [He embarked at Waterford for that country.]

² [See *ante*, p. 278.]

³ Admiral Arthur Herbert, 1647-1716, grandson of the celebrated Lord Herbert of Cherbury. In 1689, William raised him to the Peerage for his eminent naval services, with the titles of Baron Torbay and Earl of Torrington; but not succeeding against the French fleet near Beachy Head, he was sent to the Tower, tried by a Court-martial, and, though acquitted, never again employed (see *ante*, pp. 226 and 265).

⁴ [In York Buildings—"to the care (says Professor Gregory Smith) of Mrs. Fane, his estimable but bitter-tongued housekeeper" (*Globe Pepys*, 1905, xxii.).]

⁵ Henry Fitzroy, second natural son of Charles II. by the Duchess of Cleveland (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 350). The Duke, who was a volunteer, was mortally wounded in the assault at the siege of Cork by Marlborough in September (see *post*, p. 281).

⁶ [July 23.]

The French fleet still hovering about the western coast, and we having 300 sail of rich merchant-ships in the bay of Plymouth, our fleet begin to move towards them, under three admirals. The country in the west all on their guard.—A very extraordinary fine season; but on the 12th was a very great storm of thunder and lightning, and on the 15th the season much changed to wet and cold.—The militia and trained bands, horse and foot, which were up through England, were dismissed.—The French King having news that King William was slain, and his army defeated in Ireland, caused such a triumph at Paris, and all over France, as was never heard of; when, in the midst of it, the unhappy King James being vanquished, by a speedy flight and escape, himself brought the news of his own defeat.

15th August. I was desired to be one of the bail of the Earl of Clarendon,¹ for his release from the Tower, with divers noblemen. The Bishop of St. Asaph expounds his prophecies to me and Mr. Pepys, etc. The troops from Blackheath march to Portsmouth.—That sweet and hopeful youth, Sir Charles Tuke,² died of the wounds he received in the fight of the Boyne, to the great sorrow of all his friends, being (I think) the last male of that family, to which my wife is related. A more virtuous young gentleman I never knew; he was learned for his age, having had the advantage of the choicest breeding abroad, both as to arts and arms; he had travelled much, but was so unhappy as to fall in the side of the unfortunate King.

The unseasonable and most tempestuous weather happening, the naval expedition is hindered, and the extremity of wet causes the siege of Limerick to be raised,³ King William returned to England.—

¹ [See *ante*, p. 278. He was released August 15.]

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 328.]

³ [On August 30.]

Lord Sidney¹ left Governor of what is conquered in Ireland, which is near in three parts [in four].

17th August. A public fast.—An extraordinary sharp, cold, east wind.

12th October. The French General, with Tyrconnel and their forces, gone back to France, beaten out by King William.—Cork delivered on discretion.² The Duke of Grafton was there mortally wounded and dies.³—Very great storms of wind. The 8th of this month Lord Spencer wrote me word from Althorp, that there happened an earthquake the day before in the morning, which, though short, sensibly, shook the house. The Gazette acquainted us that the like happened at the same time, half-past seven, at Barnstaple, Holyhead, and Dublin. We were not sensible of it here.

26th. Kinsale at last surrendered,⁴ meantime King James's party burn all the houses they have in their power, and amongst them that stately palace of Lord Ossory's, which lately cost, as reported, £40,000. By a disastrous accident, a third-rate ship, the *Breda*, blew up and destroyed all on board; in it were twenty-five prisoners of war. She was to have sailed for England the next day.

3rd November. Went to the Countess of Clancarty,⁵ to condole with her concerning her debauched and dissolute son, who had done so much mischief in Ireland, now taken and brought prisoner to the Tower.

¹ Henry Sidney, 1641-1704, youngest brother of Robert, second Earl of Leicester; created in 1689 Viscount Sidney, and in 1694 Earl of Romney.

² [September 28.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 279. He died October 9.]

⁴ [On October 5.]

⁵ Elizabeth Fitzgerald, daughter of the Earl of Kildare. Her son, the third Earl, for the services he had rendered James II., forfeited in the reign of his successor the whole of his vast estates (see *ante*, p. 238).

16th November. Exceeding great storms, yet a warm season.

23rd. Carried Mr. Pepys's memorials to Lord Godolphin, now resuming the commission of the Treasury to the wonder of all his friends.

1st December. Having been chosen President of the Royal Society, I desired to decline it, and with great difficulty devolved the election on Sir Robert Southwell, Secretary of State to King William in Ireland.¹

20th. Dr. Hough,² President of Magdalen College, Oxford, who was displaced with several of the Fellows for not taking the oath imposed by King James, now made a Bishop.—Most of this month cold and frost.—One Johnson, a Knight, was executed at Tyburn for being an accomplice with Campbell, brother to Lord Argyll, in stealing a young heiress.

1690-1: 4th January. This week a *plot* was discovered for a general rising against the new Government, for which (Henry) Lord Clarendon and others were sent to the Tower. The next day, I went to see Lord Clarendon.³ The Bishop of Ely⁴ searched for.—Trial of Lord Preston, as not being an English Peer, hastened at the Old Bailey.

18th. Lord Preston condemned about a design to bring in King James by the French.⁵ Ashton

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 378.]

² Dr. John Hough, 1651-1743. In 1699, he was translated to Lichfield and Coventry; in 1717, he became Bishop of Worcester, which he held until his death.

³ [See *ante*, p. 280.]

⁴ Dr. Turner, who, though one of the six Bishops sent to the Tower for the petition to the King, had declined taking the oaths to William and Mary.

⁵ [See *ante*, p. 221. He had been formerly Secretary of State in succession to Sunderland, *ante*, p. 243. He was supposed to have saved himself by important disclosures.]

executed.¹ The Bishop of Ely, Mr. Graham,² etc., absconded.

13th March. I went to visit Monsieur Justel³ and the Library at St. James's, in which that learned man had put the MSS. (which were in good number) into excellent order, they having lain neglected for many years. Divers medals had been stolen and embezzled.

21st. Dined at Sir William Fermor's,⁴ who showed me many good pictures. After dinner, a French servant played rarely on the lute. Sir William had now bought all the remaining statues collected with so much expense by the famous Thomas, Earl of Arundel, and sent them to his seat at Easton, near Towcester.⁵

25th. Lord Sidney, principal Secretary of State, gave me a letter to Lord Lucas, Lieutenant of the Tower, to permit me to visit Lord Clarendon; which this day I did, and dined with him.⁶

10th April. This night a sudden and terrible fire burnt down all the buildings over the stone-gallery at Whitehall to the water-side, beginning at the apartment of the late Duchess of Portsmouth (which had been pulled down and rebuilt no less than three times to please her), and consuming other lodgings of such lewd creatures, who debauched both King Charles II. and others, and were his destruction.⁷

¹ [John Ashton, Clerk of the Closet to Mary of Modena, was hanged at Tyburn, January 28, for conspiring to restore James II.]

² [See *post*, under 6th April, 1696.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 122.]

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 30.]

⁵ They are now at Oxford, having been presented to the University in 1755 by Henrietta, Countess-Dowager of Pomfret, widow of Thomas, the first Earl.

⁶ [See *ante*, p. 282.]

⁷ [In Sir John Bramston's *Autobiography* (Camden Society), 1845, p. 365, this is confirmed. "On the 9th of Aprill [1691] a fier hapned in White Hall which burnt downe the fine lodgeings built for the Dutches of Portsmouth at the end of the longe gallery, and severall lodgeings, and that gallerie" (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 385).]

The King returned out of Holland just as this accident happened.—Proclamation against Papists, etc.

16th April. I went to see Dr. Sloane's curiosities,¹ being a universal collection of the natural productions of Jamaica, consisting of plants, fruits, corals, minerals, stones, earth, shells, animals, and insects, collected with great judgment; several folios of dried plants, and one which had about 80 several sorts of ferns, and another of grasses; the Jamaica pepper, in branch, leaves, flower, fruit, etc. This collection, with his Journal and other philosophical and natural discourses and observations, indeed very copious and extraordinary, sufficient to furnish a history of that island, to which I encouraged him.

19th. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishops of Ely, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, Gloucester, and the rest who would not take the oaths to King William, were now displaced; and, in their rooms, Dr. Tillotson, Dean of St. Paul's, was made Archbishop;² Patrick removed from Chichester to Ely;³ Cumberland⁴ to Gloucester.

22nd. I dined with Lord Clarendon in the Tower.

24th. I visited the Earl and Countess of Sunderland, now come to kiss the King's hand, after his return from Holland. This is a mystery. The King preparing to return to the army.

¹ Dr. Sloane, 1660-1753, better known as Sir Hans Sloane, having been created a Baronet by George I., was an eminent physician and naturalist, Physician-general to the Army, Physician in Ordinary to the King, and in 1727-41 President of the Royal Society. [He wrote a *Natural History of Jamaica*, 1707-1735.] His monument may be seen in the churchyard of St. Luke's, Chelsea, near the river. His extensive museum and library were purchased for £20,000, and transferred to the British Museum.

² [31st May.]

³ [2nd July.]

⁴ A mistake. Dr. Edward Fowler, prebendary of Gloucester, was made Bishop of Gloucester in the place of Dr. Robert Frampton, deprived in 1691 for not taking the oaths.

7th May. I went to visit the Archbishop of Canterbury [Sancroft] yet at Lambeth. I found him alone, and discoursing of the times, especially of the new designed Bishops; he told me that by no canon or divine law they could justify the removing the present incumbents; that Dr. Beveridge, designed Bishop of Bath and Wells, came to ask his advice; that the Archbishop told him, though he should give it, he believed he would not take it; the Doctor said he would; why then, says the Archbishop, when they come to ask, say *Nolo*, and say it from the heart; there is nothing easier than to resolve yourself what is to be done in the case: the Doctor seemed to deliberate. What he will do I know not, but Bishop Ken, who is to be put out, is exceedingly beloved in his diocese; and, if he and the rest should insist on it, and plead their interests as freeholders, it is believed there would be difficulty in their case, and it may endanger a schism and much disturbance, so as wise men think it had been better to have let them alone, than to have proceeded with this rigour to turn them out for refusing to swear against their consciences. I asked at parting, when his Grace removed; he said that he had not yet received any summons, but I found the house altogether dis-furnished, and his books packing up.

1st June. I went with my son, and brother-in-law, Glanville,¹ and his son to Wotton, to solemnise the funeral of my nephew,² which was performed the next day very decently and orderly by the herald, in the afternoon, a very great appearance of the country being there. I was the chief mourner; the pall was held by Sir Francis Vincent, Sir Richard Onslow, Mr. Thomas Howard

¹ [William Glanville, husband of Evelyn's sister Jane (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 4; and *post*, under 12th April, 1702).]

² [John Evelyn, the son of George Evelyn of Wotton.]

(son to Sir Robert, and Captain of the King's Guard), Mr. Hillyard, Mr. James, Mr. Herbert, nephew to Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and cousin-german to my deceased nephew. He was laid in the vault at Wotton church, in the burying-place of the family. A great concourse of coaches and people accompanied the solemnity.

10th June. I went to visit Lord Clarendon, still prisoner in the Tower, though Lord Preston being pardoned was released.¹

17th. A fast.

11th July. I dined with Mr. Pepys, where was Dr. Cumberland, the new Bishop of Norwich,² Dr. Lloyd having been put out for not acknowledging the Government. Cumberland is a very learned, excellent man.—Possession was now given to Dr. Tillotson, at Lambeth, by the Sheriff; Archbishop Sancroft was gone, but had left his nephew to keep possession; and he refusing to deliver it up on the Queen's message, was dispossessed by the Sheriff, and imprisoned. This stout demeanour of the few Bishops who refused to take the oaths to King William, animated a great party to forsake the churches, so as to threaten a schism; though those who looked further into the ancient practice, found that when (as formerly) there were Bishops displaced on secular accounts, the people never refused to acknowledge the new Bishops provided they were not heretics. The truth is, the whole clergy had till now stretched the duty of passive obedience, so that the proceedings against these Bishops gave no little occasion of exceptions; but this not amounting to heresy, there was a necessity

¹ [See *ante*, p. 283.]

² A mistake. Dr. Richard Cumberland, rector of All Saints, Stamford, was made Bishop of Peterborough, 5th July, and Dr. John Moore, prebendary of Norwich, succeeded Dr. Lloyd in the see of Norwich.

of receiving the new Bishops, to prevent a failure of that order in the Church.—I went to visit Lord Clarendon in the Tower, but he was gone into the country for air by the Queen's permission, under the care of his warden.

18th July. To London to hear Mr. Stringfellow preach his first sermon in the new-erected church of Trinity, in Conduit Street; to which I did recommend him to Dr. Tenison for the constant preacher and lecturer. This church, formerly built of timber on Hounslow Heath by King James for the mass-priests, being begged by Dr. Tenison, rector of St. Martin's, was set up by that public-minded, charitable, and pious man near my son's dwelling in Dover Street, chiefly at the charge of the Doctor. I know him to be an excellent preacher and a fit person. This church, though erected in St. Martin's, which is the Doctor's parish, he was not only content, but was the sole industrious mover, that it should be made a separate parish, in regard of the neighbourhood having become so populous. Wherefore to countenance and introduce the new minister, and take possession of a gallery designed for my son's family, I went to London, where,

19th, in the morning Dr. Tenison preached the first sermon, taking his text from Psalm xxvi. 8: "Lord, I have loved the habitation of thy house, and the place where thine honour dwelleth." In concluding, he gave that this should be made a parish-church so soon as the Parliament sate, and was to be dedicated to the Holy Trinity,¹ in honour

¹ This was never made a parish church, but still remains a chapel, and is private property. But, under the Act for building fifty new churches, one was built in the street between Conduit Street and Hanover Square, the first stone being laid 20th June, 1712; it was dedicated to St. George, and part of St. Martin's was made a separate parish, now called St. George's, Hanover Square.

of the three undivided Persons in the Deity ; and he minded them to attend to that faith of the Church, now especially that Arianism, Socinianism, and Atheism began to spread amongst us.—In the afternoon, Mr. Stringfellow preached on Luke vii. 5, “The centurion who had built a synagogue.” He proceeded to the due praise of persons of such public spirit, and thence to such a character of pious benefactors in the person of the generous centurion, as was comprehensive of all the virtues of an accomplished Christian, in a style so full, eloquent, and moving, that I never heard a sermon more apposite to the occasion. He modestly insinuated the obligation they had to that person who should be the author and promoter of such public works for the benefit of mankind, especially to the advantage of religion, such as building and endowing churches, hospitals, libraries, schools, procuring the best editions of useful books, by which he handsomely intimated who it was that had been so exemplary for his benefaction to that place. Indeed, that excellent person, Dr. Tenison, had also erected and furnished a public library¹ [in St. Martin’s]; and set up two or three free-schools at his own charges. Besides this, he was of an exemplary holy life, took great pains in constantly preaching, and incessantly employing himself to promote the service of God both in public and private. I never knew a man of a more universal and generous spirit, with so much modesty, prudence, and piety.

The great victory of King William’s army in Ireland was looked on as decisive of that war.² The French General, St. Ruth, who had been so cruel to the poor Protestants in France, was slain,

¹ See *ante*, p. 123.

² [The Battle of Aghrim, July 12, in which Godart van Ginkell defeated St. Ruth.]

with divers of the best commanders; nor was it cheap to us, having 1000 killed, but of the enemy 4 or 5000.

26th July. An extraordinary hot season, yet refreshed by some thunder-showers.

28th. I went to Wotton.

2nd August. No sermon in the church in the afternoon, and the curacy ill-served.

16th. A sermon by the curate; an honest discourse, but read without any spirit, or seeming concern; a great fault in the education of young preachers. — Great thunder and lightning on Thursday, but the rain and wind very violent. — Our fleet come in to lay up the great ships; nothing done at sea, pretending that we cannot meet the French.

18th September. A great storm at sea; we lost the *Coronation* and *Harwich*, above 600 men perishing.

14th October. A most pleasing autumn. — Our navy come in without having performed anything, yet there has been great loss of ships by negligence, and unskilful men governing the fleet and Navy-board.

7th November. I visited the Earl of Dover,¹ who, having made his peace with the King, was now come home. The relation he gave of the strength of the French King, and the difficulty of our forcing him to fight, and any way making impression into France, was very wide from what we fancied.

8th—30th. An extraordinary dry and warm season, without frost, and like a new spring; such as had not been known for many years. Part of the King's house at Kensington was burnt.

6th December. Discourse of another *plot*, in which several great persons were named, but

¹ [See *ante*, p. 247.]

believed to be a sham.—A proposal in the House of Commons that every officer in the whole nation who received a salary above £500 or otherwise by virtue of his office, should contribute it wholly to the support of the war with France, and this upon their oaths.¹

25th December. My daughter-in-law was brought to bed of a daughter.²

26th. An exceeding dry and calm winter, no rain for many past months.

28th. Dined at Lambeth with the new Archbishop.³ Saw the effect of my green-house furnace, set up by the Archbishop's son-in-law.

30th. I again saw Mr. Charlton's collection⁴ of spiders, birds, scorpions, and other serpents, etc.

1691-2: 1st January. This last week died that pious admirable Christian, excellent philosopher, and my worthy friend, Mr. Boyle, aged about 65⁵—a great loss to all that knew him, and to the public.

6th. At the funeral of Mr. Boyle, at St. Martin's. Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, preached on Eccles. ii. 26. He concluded with an eulogy due to the deceased, who made God and religion the scope of all his excellent talents in the knowledge of nature, and who had arrived to so high a degree in it, accompanied with such zeal and extraordinary piety, which he showed in the whole course of his life, particularly in his exemplary charity on all occasions—that he gave £1000 yearly to the distressed refugees of France and Ireland; was at the charge of translating the Scriptures into the Irish and Indian tongues, and was now promoting a Turkish translation, as he

¹ [A poll-tax was levied in the following year; but in 1694 began the plan of borrowing for extraordinary expenses, and the National Debt.]

² [See *post*, p. 291.]

⁴ See *ante*, p. 212.

³ [Dr. Tillotson.]

⁵ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 110.]

had formerly done of Grotius "on the Truth of the Christian Religion" into Arabic, which he caused to be dispersed in the Eastern countries; that he had settled a fund for preachers who should preach expressly against Atheists, Libertines, Socinians, and Jews; that he had in his will given £8000 to charitable uses; but that his private charities were extraordinary. He dilated on his learning in Hebrew and Greek, his reading of the Fathers, and solid knowledge in theology, once deliberating about taking Holy Orders, and that at the time of restoration of King Charles II., when he might have made a great figure in the nation as to secular honour and titles; his fear of not being able to discharge so weighty a duty as the first, made him decline that, and his humility the other. He spake of his civility to strangers, the great good which he did by his experience in medicine and chemistry, and to what noble ends he applied himself to his darling studies; the works both pious and useful which he published; the exact life he led, and the happy end he made. Something was touched of his sister, the Lady Ranelagh,¹ who died but a few days before him. And truly all this was but his due, without any grain of flattery.

This week, a most execrable murder was committed on Dr. Clench, father of that extraordinary learned child whom I have before noticed.² Under pretence of carrying him in a coach to see a patient, they strangled him in it; and, sending away the coachman under some pretence, they left his dead body in the coach, and escaped in the dusk of the evening.

12th January. My grand-daughter was christened by Dr. Tenison, now Bishop of Lincoln, in Trinity Church, being the first that was christened there. She was named Jane.

¹ [See *ante*, p. 277.]

² [See *ante*, p. 251.]

24th January. A frosty and dry season continued ; many persons die of apoplexies, more than usual.— Lord Marlborough, Lieutenant-General of the King's army in England, Gentleman of the Bedchamber, etc., dismissed from all his charges, military and other, for his excessive taking of bribes, covetousness, and extortion on all occasions from his inferior officers.¹—Note, this was the Lord who was entirely advanced by King James, and was the first who betrayed and forsook his master. He was son of Sir Winston Churchill of the Green-cloth.

7th February. An extraordinary snow fell in most parts.

13th. Mr. Boyle having made me one of the trustees for his charitable bequests, I went to a meeting of the Bishop of Lincoln, Sir Rob. wood, and Serjeant Rotheram,² to settle that clause in the will which related to charitable uses, and especially the appointing and electing a minister to preach one sermon the first Sunday in the month, during the four summer months, expressly against Atheists, Deists, Libertines, Jews, etc., without descending to any other controversy whatever, for which £50 per annum is to be paid quarterly to the

¹ [10th January (see *infra*, under 28th February).]

² [The Trustees were Dr. Tenison (Lord Bishop of Lincoln, and afterwards Primate), Sir Henry Ashhurst, Kt. and Baronet, Sir John Rotheram, Serjeant-at-Law, and John Evelyn (cf. *post*, 2nd May, 1696). The terms of Boyle's bequest, as recited in Bentley's letter to the Trustees of March 17, differ somewhat from Evelyn's account in the *Diary*. An annual salary was to be settled for "some divine or preaching minister," who should "preach eight sermons in the year, for proving the Christian religion against notorious infidels, viz. Atheists, Deists, Pagans, Jews and Mahometans, not descending to any controversies that are among Christians themselves: the lectures to be on the first Monday of the respective months of January, February, March, April, May, September, October, November; in such church as the Trustees shall from time to time appoint" (Bentley's *Works*, by Dyce, 1838, iii., xv.).]

preacher; and, at the end of three years, to proceed to a new election of some other able divine, or to continue the same, as the trustees should judge convenient. We made choice of one Mr. Bentley,¹ chaplain to the Bishop of Worcester (Dr. Stillingfleet). The first sermon was appointed for the first Sunday in March, at St. Martin's; the second Sunday in April, at Bow-church, and so alternately.

28th February. Lord Marlborough² having used words against the King, and been discharged from all his great places, his wife was forbid the Court, and the Princess of Denmark was desired by the Queen to dismiss her from her service; but she refusing to do so, goes away from Court to Syon-house.³—Divers new Lords made; Sir Henry Capel,⁴ Sir William Fermor,⁵ etc.—Change of Commissioners in the Treasury.—The Parliament adjourned, not well satisfied with affairs. The business of the East India Company, which they would have reformed, let fall.—The Duke of Norfolk does not succeed in his endeavour to be divorced.⁶

¹ Richard Bentley, 1662-1742, the celebrated scholar and critic, afterwards Librarian to the King, and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. [He delivered the first course of eight Boyle Lectures in this year, beginning on March 7, and ending December 5. They were first published separately, and then collected in 1693 under the general title of *The Folly and Unreasonableness of Atheism demonstrated, etc.*]

² John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, 1650-1722. The real cause of his dismissal from his employments by William III. was not the one mentioned by Evelyn; [but the fact that he had been intriguing with the Jacobites to bring back James to the throne. They distrusted him, and betrayed him to the King, who, of course, could no longer retain him at the head of the army].

³ [At Syon House (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 232). Here, or at Berkeley House, Piccadilly, Anne lived during the remainder of her sister's life.]

⁴ Lord Capel, of Tewkesbury (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 272).

⁵ Baron Leominster; afterwards Earl of Pomfret (see *ante*, p. 30).

⁶ [Henry Howard, seventh Duke of Norfolk, 1655-1701 (see *post*, under April, 1700).]

not only redeemed us from anarchy and confusion, but restored the Church of England as it were miraculously.

9th June. I went to Windsor to carry my grandson to Eton School, where I met my Lady Stonehouse¹ and other of my daughter-in-law's relations, who came on purpose to see her before her journey into Ireland. We went to see the Castle, which we found furnished and very neatly kept, as formerly, only that the arms in the guard-chamber and keep were removed and carried away.—An exceeding great storm of wind and rain, in some places stripping the trees of their fruit and leaves as if it had been winter; and an extraordinary wet season, with great floods.

16th July. I went to visit the Bishop of Lincoln, when, amongst other things, he told me that one Dr. Chaplin, of University College in Oxford, was the person who wrote the *Whole Duty of Man*;² that he used to read it to his pupil, and communicated it to Dr. Sterne,³ afterwards Archbishop of York, but would never suffer any of his pupils to have a copy of it.

28rd. I went with my wife, son, and daughter, to Eton, to see my grandson, and thence to my Lord Godolphin's, at Cranborne,⁴ where we lay, and were most honourably entertained. The next day to St. George's Chapel, and returned to London late in the evening.

¹ [See *ante*, p. 42.]

² [*The Whole Duty of Man* is now ascribed to Richard Allestree (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 157).]

³ Richard Sterne, 1596-1683, great-grandfather of the author of *Tristram Shandy*. He attended Archbishop Laud to the scaffold as his chaplain. On the Restoration he was created Bishop of Carlisle, and subsequently Archbishop of York, 1664-1683. He assisted in the Polyglot and in the revisal of the Book of Common Prayer.

⁴ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 368.]

25th July. To Mr. Hewer's at Clapham,¹ where he has an excellent, useful, and capacious house on the Common, built by Sir Den. Gauden, and by him sold to Mr. Hewer, who got a very considerable estate in the Navy, in which, from being Mr. Pepys's clerk, he came to be one of the principal officers, but was put out of all employment on the Revolution, as were all the best officers, on suspicion of being no friends to the change; such were put in their places, as were most shamefully ignorant and unfit. Mr. Hewer lives very handsomely and friendly to everybody.—Our fleet was now sailing on their long pretence of a descent on the French coast; but, after having sailed one hundred leagues, returned, the admiral and officers disagreeing as to the place where they were to land, and the time of year being so far spent,—to the great dishonour of those at the helm, who concerted their matters so indiscreetly, or, as some thought, designedly.²

This whole summer was exceeding wet and rainy; the like had not been known since the year 1648; whilst in Ireland they had not known so great a drought.

10th August. A fast.—Came the sad news of the hurricane and earthquake, which has destroyed almost the whole Island of Jamaica, many thousands having perished.

11th. My son, his wife, and little daughter, went for Ireland, there to reside as one of the Commissioners of the Revenue.³

¹ [William Hewer, *d.* 1715. He had been Commissioner of the Navy, and Treasurer for Tangier.] Much will be found concerning him in Pepys' *Diary*. [The house at "Paradisian Clapham" (Evelyn to Pepys, 20th January, 1703), where Pepys lived with Hewer from 1700 to his death in 1703, was pulled down about 1760. See *post*, under 23rd September, 1700.]

² [The intention had been to reduce St. Malo, but it was found unassailable (see *post*, under January, 1693).]

³ [He was a Commissioner of Revenue in Ireland, 1692-96.]

14th August. Still an exceeding wet season.

15th September. There happened an earthquake, which, though not so great as to do any harm in England, was universal in all these parts of Europe. It shook the house at Wotton, but was not perceived by any save a servant or two, who were making my bed, and another in a garret. I and the rest being at dinner below in the parlour, were not sensible of it. The dreadful one in Jamaica this summer was profanely and ludicrously represented in a puppet-play, or some such lewd pastime, in the fair of Southwark,¹ which caused the Queen to put down that idle and vicious mock show.

1st October. This season was so exceedingly cold, by reason of a long and tempestuous north-east wind, that this usually pleasant month was very uncomfortable. No fruit ripened kindly.—Harbord dies at Belgrade;² Lord Paget³ sent Ambassador in his room.

6th November. There was a vestry called about repairing or new building of the church [at Deptford],⁴ which I thought unseasonable in regard of heavy taxes, and other improper circumstances, which I there declared.

10th. A solemn Thanksgiving for our victory at sea, safe return of the King, etc.

20th. Dr. Lancaster, the new Vicar of St. Martin's, preached.

A signal robbery in Hertfordshire of the tax-money bringing out of the north towards London. They were set upon by several desperate persons, who dismounted and stopped all travellers on the

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 151.]

² [William Harbord, 1635-92, Ambassador to Turkey to mediate between the Sultan and the Emperor Leopold.]

³ [William Paget, 1637-1713, sixth Baron; Ambassador to Turkey, 1693-1702.]

⁴ [It was subsequently rebuilt in 1697 by voluntary subscription and an assessment.]

road, and guarding them in a field, when the exploit was done, and the treasure taken, they killed all the horses of those whom they stayed, to hinder pursuit, being sixteen horses. They then dismissed those that they had dismounted.

14th December. With much reluctance we gratified Sir J. Rotheram, one of Mr. Boyle's trustees, by admitting the Bishop of Bath and Wells¹ to be lecturer for the next year, instead of Mr. Bentley, who had so worthily acquitted himself. We intended to take him in again the next year.

1692-3 : January. Contest in Parliament about a self-denying Act, that no Parliament-man should have any office : it wanted only two or three voices to have been carried.—The Duke of Norfolk's Bill for a divorce thrown out, he having managed it very indiscreetly.²—The quarrel between Admiral Russell and Lord Nottingham yet undetermined.³

4th February. After five days' trial and extraordinary contest, the Lord Mohun⁴ was acquitted by the Lords of the murder of Mountford, the player, notwithstanding the Judges, from the pregnant witnesses of the fact, had declared him guilty ; but whether in commiseration of his youth, being not eighteen years old, though exceeding dissolute, or upon whatever other reason, the King himself present some part of the trial, and satisfied, as they report, that he was culpable, 69 acquitted him, only 14 condemned him.

¹ [Dr. Richard Kidder, 1633-1703 ; Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1691-1703 (see *ante*, p. 292).]

² [See *ante*, p. 2, and *post*, under April, 1700.]

³ [In connection with the fruitless expedition to St. Malo referred to at p. 297. Daniel Finch, the Earl of Nottingham, was Secretary of State, and virtually at the head of the Admiralty (see *infra*).]

⁴ [Charles Mohun, fifth Baron Mohun, 1675-1712, was tried and acquitted of the murder of William Mountford the actor. He figures in Thackeray's *Esmond*.]

Unheard-of stories of the universal increase of witches in New England; men, women, and children, devoting themselves to the devil, so as to threaten the subversion of the government.¹—At the same time there was a conspiracy amongst the negroes in Barbadoes to murder all their masters, discovered by overhearing a discourse of two of the slaves, and so preventing the execution of the design.—Hitherto an exceeding mild winter.—France in the utmost misery and poverty for want of corn and subsistence, whilst the ambitious King is intent to pursue his conquests on the rest of his neighbours both by sea and land. Our Admiral, Russell, laid aside for not pursuing the advantage he had obtained over the French in the past summer;² three others chosen in his place. Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury's book burnt by the hangman for an expression of the King's title by conquest, on a complaint of Joseph How, a Member of Parliament, little better than a madman.

19th *February*. The Bishop of Lincoln³ preached in the afternoon at the Tabernacle near Golden Square, set up by him.—Proposals of a marriage between Mr. Draper and my daughter Susanna.⁴—Hitherto an exceeding warm winter, such as has

¹ An account of these poor people is given in Manning and Bray's *Surrey*, 1809, ii. 714, from the papers of the Rev. Mr. John Miller, Vicar of Effingham in that county, who was Chaplain to the King's forces in the Colony from 1692 to 1695. Some of the accused were convicted and executed; but Sir William Phipps, the Governor, had the good sense to reprieve, and afterwards pardon, several; and the Queen approved his conduct.

² [Edward Russell, 1653-1727. He had been in secret correspondence with King James. He was again employed in 1694, and made Earl of Oxford in 1697.]

³ [Dr. Tenison. His chapel, which Strype in his *Stow*, 1720, speaks of as "the Chapel of Ease, by some called the Tabernacle," is on the west side of King Street, Golden Square.]

⁴ [Susanna Evelyn was the third daughter (see *post*, p. 301).]

seldom been known, and portending an unprosperous spring as to the fruits of the earth; our climate requires more cold and winterly weather. The dreadful and astonishing earthquake swallowing up Catania and other famous and ancient cities, with more than 100,000 persons in Sicily, on 11th January last, came now to be reported amongst us.

26th February. An extraordinary deep snow, after almost no winter, and a sudden gentle thaw. —A deplorable earthquake at Malta, since that of Sicily, nearly as great.

19th March. A new Secretary of State, Sir John Trenchard;¹ the Attorney-General, Somers, made Lord-Keeper, a young lawyer of extraordinary merit.²—King William goes towards Flanders; but returns, the wind being contrary.

31st. I met the King going to Gravesend to embark in his yacht for Holland.

23rd April. An extraordinary wet spring.

27th. My daughter Susanna was married to William Draper, Esq., in the chapel of Ely House, by Dr. Tenison, Bishop of Lincoln (since Archbishop). I gave her in portion £4000, her jointure is £500 per annum. I pray Almighty God to give His blessing to this marriage! She is a good child, religious, discreet, ingenious, and qualified with all the ornaments of her sex. She has a peculiar talent in design, as painting in oil and miniature,

¹ Sir John Trenchard of Bloxworth, in Dorsetshire, 1640-95. He had been implicated in the Papist Plot (see *ante*, p. 23), and engaged with the Duke of Monmouth, but escaped out of England, and lived some time abroad, where he acquired a large and correct knowledge of foreign affairs. He was the confidential friend of King William, by whom he had been commissioned to concert measures with his friends on this side of the water, and ensure his favourable reception. Previously to his appointment of Secretary of State, the King had made him Serjeant-at-Law, and Chief Justice of Chester.

² [Sir John Somers, afterwards Baron Somers, 1651-1716. He had been knighted, and made Solicitor-General in 1689.]

and an extraordinary genius for whatever hands can do with a needle. She has the French tongue, has read most of the Greek and Roman authors and poets, using her talents with great modesty: exquisitely shaped, and of an agreeable countenance. This character is due to her, though coming from her father. Much of this week spent in ceremonies, receiving visits and entertaining relations, and a great part of the next in returning visits.

11th May. We accompanied my daughter to her husband's house,¹ where with many of his and our relations we were magnificently treated. There we left her in an apartment very richly adorned and furnished, and I hope in as happy a condition as could be wished, and with the great satisfaction of all our friends; for which God be praised!

14th. Nothing yet of action from abroad. Muttering of a design to bring forces under colour of an expected descent, to be a standing army for other purposes. Talk of a declaration of the French King, offering mighty advantages to the Confederates, exclusive of King William; and another of King James, with an universal pardon, and referring the composing of all differences to a Parliament. These were yet but discourses; but something is certainly under it. A Declaration or Manifesto from King James, so written, that many thought it reasonable, and much more to the purpose than any of his former.

June. Whit-Sunday. I went to my Lord Griffith's chapel; the common church-office was used for the King without naming the person, with some other, apposite to the necessity and circumstances of the time.

11th. I dined at Sir William Godolphin's; and,

¹ At Addiscombe, near Croydon.

after evening prayer, visited the Duchess of Grafton.¹

21st June. I saw a great auction of pictures in the Banqueting-house, Whitehall. They had been my Lord Melfort's,² now Ambassador from King James at Rome, and engaged to his creditors here. Lord Mulgrave³ and Sir Edward Seymour⁴ came to my house, and desired me to go with them to the sale. Divers more of the great lords, etc., were there, and bought pictures dear enough. There were some very excellent of Vandyck, Rubens, and Bassano. Lord Godolphin bought the picture of the Boys, by Murillo the Spaniard, for 80 guineas, dear enough; my nephew Glanville, the old Earl of Arundel's head by Rubens, for £20. Growing late, I did not stay till all were sold.

24th. A very wet hay-harvest, and little summer as yet.

9th July. Mr. Tippin, successor of Dr. Parr at Camberwell, preached an excellent sermon.

18th. I saw the Queen's rare cabinets and collection of china; which was wonderfully rich and plentiful, but especially a large cabinet, looking-glass frame and stands, all of amber, much of it white, with historical bas-reliefs and statues, with medals carved in them, esteemed worth £4000, sent by the Duke of Brandenburg, whose country, Prussia, abounds with amber, cast up by the sea; divers other China and Indian cabinets, screens, and hangings. In her library were many books in English, French, and Dutch, of all sorts; a cupboard of gold plate; a cabinet of silver filagree, which I think was our Queen Mary's,⁵ and which,

¹ [See *ante*, p. 281. She was now a widow.]

² [John Drummond, first Earl, and titular Duke of Melfort, 1649-1714. He was Jacobite Envoy to Rome.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 352.]

⁴ [See *post*, p. 358.]

⁵ [King James's Queen, now at St. Germain.]

in my opinion, should have been generously sent to her.

18th July. I dined with Lord Mulgrave, with the Earl of Devonshire,¹ Mr. Hampden² (a scholar and fine gentleman), Dr. Davenant,³ Sir Henry Vane, and others, and saw and admired the Venus of Correggio, which Lord Mulgrave had newly bought of Mr. Daun, for £250; one of the best paintings I ever saw.

1st August. Lord Capel, Sir Cyril Wyche, and Mr. Duncomb, made Lord-Justices in Ireland; Lord Sidney recalled, and made Master of the Ordnance.

6th. Very lovely harvest-weather, and a wholesome season, but no garden-fruit.

31st October. A very wet and uncomfortable season.

12th November. Lord Nottingham resigned as Secretary of State;⁴ the Commissioners of the Admiralty outed, and Russell⁵ restored to his office.—The season continued very wet, as it had nearly all the summer, if one might call it summer, in which there was no fruit, but corn was very plentiful.

14th. In the lottery set up after the Venetian manner by Mr. Neale, Sir R. Haddock, one of the Commissioners of the Navy, had the greatest lot, £8000; my coachman £40.

17th. Was the funeral of Captain Young, who died of the stone and great age. I think he was the first who in the first war with Cromwell against Spain,⁶ took the *Governor of Havannah*, and

¹ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 56.]

² [See *ante*, p. 101.]

³ Charles Davenant, 1656-1714, eldest son of Sir William Davenant, joint inspector of plays, Commissioner of Excise, and Inspector-General of Exports and Imports, 1705-14. His chief work was called *Essays on Trade*, in five volumes.

⁴ See *ante*, p. 243. He was succeeded by Charles Earl of Shrewsbury.

⁵ [See *ante*, p. 300.]

⁶ See vol. i. p. 119.

another rich prize, and struck the first stroke against the Dutch fleet in the first war with Holland in the time of the Rebellion; a sober man and an excellent seaman.

30th November. Much importuned to take the office of President of the Royal Society, but I again declined it. Sir Robert Southwell was continued.¹ We all dined at Pontac's,² as usual.

3rd December. Mr. Bentley preached at the Tabernacle, near Golden Square.³ I gave my voice for him to proceed on his former subject the following year in Mr. Boyle's lecture, in which he had been interrupted by the importunity of Sir J. Rotheram that the Bishop of Chichester⁴ might be chosen the year before, to the great dissatisfaction of the Bishop of Lincoln and myself. We chose Mr. Bentley again.⁵—The Duchess of Grafton's Appeal to the House of Lords for the Prothonotary's place given to the late Duke and to her son by King Charles II., now challenged by the Lord Chief-Justice. The Judges were severely reproved on something they said.

10th. A very great storm of thunder and lightning.

1693-4: *1st January.* Prince Lewis of Baden came to London, and was much feasted. Danish ships arrested carrying corn and naval stores to France.

11th. Supped at Mr. Edward Sheldon's, where

¹ [See *ante*, p. 282.]

² [See *ante*, p. 104.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 292.]

⁴ A mistake for Bath and Wells. Bishop Kidder is referred to (see *ante*, p. 299).

⁵ [See *ante*, pp. 292 and 299. "In 1694 Bentley again delivered a course of Boyle Lectures—'A Defence of Christianity'—but they were never printed. Manuscript copies of them are mentioned by Kippis, the editor of the *Biographia Britannica*: but Dean Vincent, who died in 1815, is reported by Kidd as believing that they were lost" (Jebb's *Bentley*, 1882, p. 52).]

was Mr. Dryden, the poet, who now intended to write no more plays, being intent on his translation of Virgil. He read to us his prologue and epilogue to his valedictory play now shortly to be acted.¹

21st January. Lord Macclesfield, Lord Warrington, and Lord Westmoreland, all died within about one week. Several persons shot, hanged, and made away with themselves.

11th February. Now was the great trial of the appeal of Lord Bath and Lord Montagu before the Lords, for the estate of the late Duke of Albemarle.²

10th March. Mr. Stringfellow³ preached at Trinity parish, being restored to that place, after the contest between the Queen and the Bishop of London who had displaced him.

22nd. Came the dismal news of the disaster befallen our Turkey fleet by tempest, to the almost utter ruin of that trade, the convoy of three or four men-of-war, and divers merchant-ships, with all their men and lading, having perished.

25th. Dr. Goode, minister of St. Martin's, preached; he was likewise put in by the Queen, on the issue of her process with the Bishop of London.

30th. I went to the Duke of Norfolk, to desire him to make cousin Evelyn of Nutfield one of the Deputy-Lieutenants of Surrey, and entreat him to dismiss my brother, now unable to serve by reason of age and infirmity. The Duke granted the one, but would not suffer my brother to resign his commission, desiring he should keep the honour of it

¹ [*Love Triumphant*, 1694.]

² [John Grenville, Earl of Bath, 1628-1701, claimed the Albemarle estate, under the will of Christopher Monck, second Duke of Albemarle, who died in 1688. Actions were brought against him by the Earl of Montagu and the Duchess of Albemarle (see *post*, pp. 328 and 358).]

³ [See *ante*, p. 288.]

during his life, though he could not act. He professed great kindness to our family.

1st April. Dr. Sharp, Archbishop of York,¹ preached in the afternoon at the Tabernacle, by Soho.

18th. Mr. Bentley, our Boyle Lecturer,² Chaplain to the Bishop of Worcester, came to see me.

15th. One Mr. Stanhope³ preached a most excellent sermon.

22nd. A fiery exhalation rising out of the sea, spread itself in Montgomeryshire a furlong broad, and many miles in length, burning all straw, hay, thatch, and grass, but doing no harm to trees, timber, or any solid things, only firing barns, or thatched houses. It left such a taint on the grass as to kill all the cattle that eat of it. I saw the attestations in the hands of the sufferers. It lasted many months.—The *Berkeley Castle* sunk by the French coming from the East Indies, worth £200,000. The French took our castle of Gambo in Guinea, so that the Africa Actions fell to £80, and the India to £80.—Some regiments of Highland Dragoons were on their march through England; they were of large stature, well appointed and disciplined. One of them having reproached a Dutchman for cowardice in our late fight, was attacked by two Dutchmen, when with his sword he struck off the head of one, and cleft the skull of the other down to his chin.

A very young gentleman named Wilson, the younger son of one who had not above £200 a-year estate, lived in the garb and equipage of the richest

¹ [See *ante*, p. 206.]

² [See *ante*, p. 305.]

³ Dr. George Stanhope, 1660-1728, afterwards Dean of Canterbury, a divine who made no scruple to publish what he found truly pious in the works of a Roman Catholic Priest (see *post*, p. 321).

nobleman, for house, furniture, coaches, saddle-horses, and kept a table, and all things accordingly, redeemed his father's estate, and gave portions to his sisters, being challenged by one Laws, a Scotchman, was killed in a duel, not fairly. The quarrel arose from his taking away his own sister from lodging in a house where this Laws had a mistress, which the mistress of the house thinking a disparagement to it, and losing by it, instigated Laws to this duel. He was taken and condemned for murder. The mystery is how this so young a gentleman, very sober and of good fame, could live in such an expensive manner; it could not be discovered by all possible industry, or entreaty of his friends to make him reveal it. It did not appear that he was kept by women, play, coining, padding,¹ or dealing in chemistry; but he would sometimes say that if he should live ever so long, he had wherewith to maintain himself in the same manner. He was very civil and well-natured, but of no great force of understanding. This was a subject of much discourse.

24th April. I went to visit Mr. Waller, an extraordinary young gentleman of great accomplishments, skilled in mathematics, anatomy, music, painting both in oil and miniature to great perfection, an excellent botanist, a rare engraver on brass, writer in Latin, and a poet; and with all this exceeding modest. His house is an academy of itself. I carried him to see Brompton Park [by Knightsbridge],² where he was in admiration at the store of rare plants, and the method he found in

¹ [Highway robbery.]

² [Between Knightsbridge and Kensington, but now built over. It belonged to Henry Wise, 1653-78, afterwards gardener to Queen Anne and George I., and one of the firm of London and Wise, the nursery gardeners, mentioned in No. 5 of the *Spectator*. Evelyn refers to them in his "Advertisement" to La Quintinye's *Compleat Gardener*, 1693.]

that noble nursery, and how well it was cultivated.—A public Bank of £140,000, set up by Act of Parliament among other Acts, and Lotteries for money to carry on the war.—The whole month of April without rain.—A great rising of people in Buckinghamshire, on the declaration of a famous preacher,¹ till now reputed a sober and religious man, that our Lord Christ appearing to him on the 16th of this month, told him he was now come down, and would appear publicly at Pentecost, and gather all the saints, Jews and Gentiles, and lead them to Jerusalem, and begin the Millennium, and destroying and judging the wicked, deliver the government of the world to the saints. Great multitudes followed this preacher, divers of the most zealous brought their goods and considerable sums of money, and began to live in imitation of the primitive saints, minding no private concerns, continually dancing and singing Hallelujah night and day. This brings to mind what I lately happened to find in Alstedius, that the thousand years should begin this very year 1694: it is in his *Encyclopædia Biblica*. My copy of the book printed near sixty years ago.

4th May. I went this day with my wife and four servants from Sayes Court, removing much furniture of all sorts, books, pictures, hangings, bedding, etc., to furnish the apartment my brother assigned me, and now, after more than forty years, to spend the rest of my days with him at Wotton,

¹ John Mason, 1646-94, who was presented to the Rectory of Water Stratford, in 1674. Great numbers of his deluded followers left their homes, and filled all the houses and barns in the neighbourhood of Water Stratford; and, when prevented from assembling in their chosen field (the "Holy Ground"), they congregated in the town. Three pamphlets on the subject were published in 1694, after Mason's death, one of which was privately reprinted by the Rev. Edward Cooke, Rector of Haversham, in the same county (Bucks).

where I was born ; leaving my house at Deptford full furnished, and three servants, to my son-in-law Draper,¹ to pass the summer in, and such longer time as he should think fit to make use of it.

6th May. This being the first Sunday in the month, the blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper ought to have been celebrated at Wotton Church, but in this parish it is exceedingly neglected, so that, unless at the four great Feasts, there is no communion hereabouts ; which is a great fault both in ministers and people. I have spoken to my brother, who is the patron, to discourse the Minister about it.—Scarcely one shower has fallen since the beginning of April.

30th. This week we had news of my Lord Teviot having cut his own throat, through what discontent not yet said. He had been, not many years past, my colleague in the commission of the Privy Seal, an old acquaintance, very soberly and religiously inclined.² Lord, what are we without Thy continual grace !

Lord Falkland,³ grandson to the learned Lord Falkland, Secretary of State to King Charles I., and slain in his service, died now of the small-pox. He was a pretty, brisk, understanding, industrious young gentleman ; had formerly been faulty, but now much reclaimed ; had also the good luck to marry a very great fortune, besides being entitled to a vast sum, his share of the Spanish wreck, taken up at the expense of divers adventurers. From a Scotch Viscount he was made an English Baron, designed Ambassador for Holland ; had been Treasurer of the Navy, and advancing extremely in the New Court. All now gone in a moment, and I think the title is extinct. I know not

¹ [See *ante*, p. 300.]

² [See *ante*, p. 195.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 97.]

whether the estate devolves to my cousin Carew. It was at my Lord Falkland's, whose lady importuned us to let our daughter be with her some time, so that that dear child took the same infection, which cost her valuable life.¹

8rd June. Mr. Edwards, minister of Denton, in Sussex, a living in my brother's gift, came to see him. He had suffered much by a fire.—Seasonable showers.

14th. The public Fast. Mr. Wotton,² that extraordinary learned young man, preached excellently.

1st July. Mr. Duncomb, minister of Albury, preached at Wotton, a very religious and exact discourse.

The first great Bank³ for a fund of money being now established by Act of Parliament, was filled and completed to the sum of £120,000, and put under the government of the most able and wealthy citizens of London. All who adventured any sum had four per cent, so long as it lay in the Bank, and had power either to take it out at pleasure, or transfer it.—Glorious steady weather; corn and all fruits in extraordinary plenty generally.

18th. Lord Berkeley burnt Dieppe and Havre-de-Grace with bombs, in revenge for the defeat at Brest.⁴ This manner of destructive war⁵ was begun by the French, is exceedingly ruinous, especially falling on the poorer people, and does not seem to tend to make a more speedy end of the war; but rather to exasperate and incite to revenge.—Many executed at London for clipping money, now done to that intolerable extent, that

¹ See *ante*, p. 153.

² [See *ante*, p. 31.]

³ [The Bank of England, which received a Royal Charter, July 27, 1694.]

⁴ [July 12, 16, 18. Vauban had strengthened the Brest fortifications in anticipation of attack, and a landing was found impracticable when attempted in June.]

⁵ [Bombarding (see *post*, under 25th September, 1695).]

there was hardly any money that was worth above half the nominal value.¹

4th August. I went to visit my cousin, George Evelyn of Nutfield, where I found a family of ten children, five sons and five daughters—all beautiful women grown, and extremely well-fashioned. All painted in one piece, very well, by Mr. Lutterel,² in crayon on copper, and seeming to be as finely painted as the best miniature. They are the children of two extraordinary beautiful wives. The boys were at school.

5th. Stormy and unseasonable wet weather this week.

5th October. I went to St. Paul's to see the choir, now finished as to the stone work, and the scaffold struck both without and within, in that part. Some exceptions might perhaps be taken as to the placing columns on pilasters at the East tribunal. As to the rest it is a piece of architecture without reproach. The pulling out the forms, like drawers, from under the stalls, is ingenious. I went also to see the building beginning near St. Giles's, where seven streets make a star from a Doric pillar placed in the middle of a circular area;³ said to be built by Mr. Neale, introducer of the late lotteries, in imitation of those at Venice, now set up here, for himself twice, and now one for the State.

28th. Mr. Stringfellow preached at Trinity church.⁴

22nd November. Visited the Bishop of Lincoln [Tenison]⁵ newly come on the death of the Arch-

¹ [See *post*, under 12th January, 1696.]

² [Henry Lutterel, 1650-1710. He had discovered a means of drawing crayon portraits on copper, and he executed a few mezzotints.]

³ [Seven Dials, St. Giles's. The "Doric pillar" has long been removed elsewhere.]

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 306.]

⁵ [See *ante*, p. 59.]

bishop of Canterbury, who a few days before had a paralytic stroke—the same day and month that Archbishop Sancroft was put out.—A very sickly time, especially the small-pox, of which divers considerable persons died. The State Lottery¹ drawing, Mr. Cock, a French refugee, and a President in the Parliament of Paris for the Reformed, drew a lot of £1000 per annum.

29th November. I visited the Marquis of Normanby, and had much discourse concerning King Charles II. being poisoned.—Also concerning the *Quinquina* which the physicians would not give to the King, at a time when, in a dangerous ague, it was the only thing that could cure him (out of envy because it had been brought into vogue by Mr. Tudor, an apothecary), till Dr. Short, to whom the King sent to know his opinion of it privately, he being reputed a Papist (but who was in truth a very honest good Christian), sent word to the King that it was the only thing which could save his life, and then the King enjoined his physicians to give it to him, which they did, and he recovered. Being asked by this Lord why they would not prescribe it, Dr. Lower said it would spoil their practice, or some such expression, and at last confessed it was a remedy fit only for kings.—Exception was taken that the late Archbishop did not cause any of his Chaplains to use any office for the sick during his illness.

9th December. I had news that my dear and worthy friend, Dr. Tenison, Bishop of Lincoln, was made Archbishop of Canterbury,² for which I thank God and rejoice, he being most worthy of it, for his learning, piety, and prudence.

13th. I went to London to congratulate him. He being my proxy, gave my vote for Dr.

¹ State Lotteries finally closed October 18, 1826.

² [See *ante*, p. 312.]

Williams,¹ to succeed Mr. Bentley in Mr. Boyle's lectures.

29th December. The small-pox increased exceedingly, and was very mortal. The Queen died of it on the 28th.²

1694-5 : *13th January.* The Thames was frozen over. The deaths by small-pox increased to five hundred more than in the preceding week.—The King and Princess Anne reconciled, and she was invited to keep her Court at Whitehall, having hitherto lived privately at Berkeley-house ;³ she was desired to take into her family divers servants of the late Queen ; to maintain them the King has assigned her £5000 a-quarter.

20th. The frost and continual snow have now lasted five weeks.

February. Lord Spencer married the Duke of Newcastle's daughter, and our neighbour, Mr. Hussey,⁴ married a daughter of my cousin George Evelyn, of Nutfield.

3rd. The long frost intermitted, but not gone.

17th. Called to London by Lord Godolphin, one of the Lords of the Treasury, offering me the treasurership of the hospital designed to be built at Greenwich for worn-out seamen.

24th. I saw the Queen lie in state.

27th. The Marquis of Normanby told me King Charles had a design to buy all King Street,⁵ and build it nobly, it being the street leading to Westminster. This might have been done for

¹ [Dr. John Williams, 1636-1709, Bishop of Chichester.]

² [She was buried at Westminster, March 5, 1695.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 293. She had quitted the Cockpit at Whitehall in consequence of a quarrel with the Queen.]

⁴ [Probably a son of Peter Hussey of Sutton (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 315).]

⁵ [King Street—as will be seen from Fisher's Plan—extended from Richmond Terrace to Bridge Street. It is now absorbed in Parliament Street, which carries out the King's scheme.]

the expense of the Queen's funeral, which was £50,000, against her desire.¹

5th March. I went to see the ceremony. Never was so universal a mourning; all the Parliament-men had cloaks given them, and four hundred poor women; all the streets hung, and the middle of the street boarded and covered with black cloth. There were all the Nobility, Mayor, Aldermen, Judges, etc.

8th. I supped at the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry's, who related to me the pious behaviour of the Queen in all her sickness, which was admirable. She never inquired of what opinion persons were, who were objects of charity; that, on opening a cabinet, a paper was found wherein she had desired that her body might not be opened, or any extraordinary expense at her funeral, whenever she should die. This paper was not found in time to be observed. There were other excellent things under her own hand, to the very least of her debts, which were very small, and everything in that exact method, as seldom is found in any private person. In sum, she was such an admirable woman, abating for taking the Crown without a more due apology,² as does, if possible, outdo the renowned Queen Elizabeth.

10th. I dined at the Earl of Sunderland's with Lord Spencer. My Lord showed me his library, now again improved by many books bought at the sale of Sir Charles Scarborough, an eminent physician,³ which was the very best collection, especially of mathematical books, that was I believe in Europe, once designed for the King's Library at St. James's; but the Queen's dying, who was the great patroness of that design, it was let fall, and the books were miserably dissipated.

¹ [See *infra*, 8th March.]

² [See *ante*, p. 256.]

³ See vol. ii. p. 63.

The new edition of Camden's *Britannia* was now published (by Bishop Gibson), with great additions; those to Surrey were mine, so that I had one presented to me.¹ Dr. Gale² showed a MS. of some parts of the New Testament in vulgar Latin, that had belonged to a monastery in the North of Scotland, which he esteemed to be about eight hundred years old; there were some considerable various readings observable, as in John i., and genealogy of St. Luke.

24th March. Easter-day. Mr. Duncomb, parson of this parish, preached, which he hardly comes to above once a year though but seven or eight miles off;³ a florid discourse, read out of his notes. The Holy Sacrament followed, which he administered with very little reverence, leaving out many prayers and exhortations; nor was there any oblation. This ought to be reformed, but my good brother did not well consider when he gave away this living and the next [Abinger].

March. The latter end of the month sharp and severe cold, with much snow and hard frost; no appearance of spring.

31st. Mr. Lucas preached in the afternoon at Wotton.

7th April. Lord Halifax⁴ died suddenly at London, the day his daughter was married to the Earl of Nottingham's son at Burleigh. Lord H. was a very rich man, very witty, and in his younger days somewhat positive.

¹ [Camden's *Britannia* was translated from the original Latin in this year by Edmund Gibson, 1669-1748, afterwards Archdeacon of Surrey and Bishop of London. It was reprinted in 1753 and 1772. Evelyn's contributions to it are not noticed in the list of his works.]

² [See *ante*, p. 89.]

³ This was William Duncomb, Rector of Ashted, in Surrey, not Mr. Duncomb, of Albury, mentioned in pp. 311 and 319.

⁴ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 194.]

14th April. After a most severe, cold, and snowy winter, without almost any shower for many months, the wind continuing N. and E. and not a leaf appearing; the weather and wind now changed, some showers fell, and there was a remission of cold.

21st. The spring begins to appear, yet the trees hardly leafed.—Sir T. Cooke discovers what prodigious bribes have been given by some of the East India Company out of the stock, which makes a great clamour.—Never were so many private bills passed for unsettling estates, showing the wonderful prodigality and decay of families.

5th May. I came to Deptford from Wotton, in order to the first meeting of the Commissioners for endowing an Hospital for Seamen at Greenwich; it was at the Guildhall, London. Present, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord-Keeper, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Godolphin, Duke of Shrewsbury, Duke of Leeds, Earls of Dorset and Monmouth, Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy, Sir Robert Clayton, Sir Christopher Wren, and several more. The Commission was read by Mr. Lowndes, Secretary to the Lords of the Treasury, Surveyor-General.¹

17th. Second meeting of the Commissioners, and a Committee appointed to go to Greenwich to survey the place, I being one of them.

21st. We went to survey Greenwich, Sir Robert Clayton,² Sir Christopher Wren, Mr. Travers, the King's Surveyor, Captain Sanders, and myself.

24th. We made report of the state of Greenwich House, and how the standing part might be made serviceable at present for £6000, and what ground would be requisite for the whole design. My Lord-Keeper ordered me to prepare a book for subscriptions, and a preamble to it.

¹ [See *post*, under 4th July, 1696, n.]

² [See *ante*, p. 9.]

31st May. Met again. Mr. Vanbrugh¹ was made Secretary to the Commission, by my nomination of him to the Lords, which was all done that day.

7th June. The Commissioners met at Guildhall, when there were scruples and contests of the Lord Mayor,² who would not meet, not being named as one of the quorum, so that a new Commission was required, though the Lord-Keeper and the rest thought it too nice a punctilio.

14th. Met at Guildhall, but could do nothing for want of a quorum.

5th July. At Guildhall; account of subscriptions, about 7 or £8000.

6th. I dined at Lambeth, making my first visit to the Archbishop,³ where there was much company, and great cheer. After prayers in the evening, my Lord made me stay to show me his house, furniture, and garden, which were all very fine, and far beyond the usual Archbishops, not as affected by this, but being bought ready furnished by his predecessor. We discoursed of several public matters, particularly of the Princess of Denmark, who made so little figure.

11th. Met at Guildhall: not a full Committee, so nothing done.

14th. No sermon at Church; but, after prayers, the names of all the parishioners were read, in order to gathering the tax of 4s. for marriages, burials, etc. A very imprudent tax, especially this reading the names, so that most went out of the church.

19th. I dined at Sir Purbeck Temple's, near Croydon;⁴ his lady is aunt to my son-in-law,

¹ John Vanbrugh, 1664-1726, the dramatist, architect of Blenheim and Castle Howard; also Clarencieux King at Arms, Comptroller of the Board of Works, and Surveyor of Greenwich Hospital. [He became Sir John in 1714.]

² Sir William Ashurst, Knt.

³ [Dr. Tenison.]

⁴ [See *post*, p. 320.]

Draper; the house exactly furnished. Went thence with my son and daughter to Wotton.—At Wotton, Mr. Duncomb, parson of Albury, preached excellently.

28th July. A very wet season.

11th August. The weather now so cold, that greater frosts were not always seen in the midst of winter; this succeeded much wet, and set harvest extremely back.

25th September. Mr. Offley¹ preached at Abinger; too much of controversy on a point of no consequence, for the country people here. This was the first time I had heard him preach. Bombarding of Cadiz; a cruel and brutish way of making war, first begun by the French.—The season wet, great storms, unseasonable harvest weather.—My good and worthy friend, Captain Gifford, who that he might get some competence to live decently, adventured all he had in a voyage of two years to the East Indies, was, with another great ship, taken by some French men-of-war, almost within sight of England, to the loss of near £70,000, to my great sorrow, and pity of his wife, he being also a valiant and industrious man. The losses of this sort to the nation have been immense, and all through negligence, and little care to secure the same near our own coasts; of infinitely more concern to the public than spending their time in bombarding and ruining two or three paltry towns, without any benefit, or weakening our enemies, who, though they began, ought not to be imitated in an action totally averse to humanity, or Christianity.

¹ Rector of Abinger. This gentleman—says Bray—gave good farms in Sussex for the better endowment of Oakwood Chapel, a chapel of ease for the lower parts of Abinger and Wotton, both of which livings are in the gift of the owner of Wotton; many of the inhabitants thereabouts being distant five miles from their parish churches, and the roads also in winter being extremely bad.

29th September. Very cold weather.—Sir Purbeck Temple, uncle to my son Draper, died suddenly.¹ A great funeral at Addiscombe. His lady being own aunt to my son Draper, he hopes for a good fortune, there being no heir. There had been a new meeting of the Commissioners about Greenwich Hospital, on the new Commission, where the Lord Mayor, etc., appeared, but I was prevented by indisposition from attending. The weather very sharp, winter approaching apace.—The King went a progress into the north, to show himself to the people against the elections, and was everywhere complimented, except at Oxford, where it was not as he expected, so that he hardly stopped an hour there, and, having seen the Theatre, did not receive the banquet proposed.—I dined with Dr. Gale at St. Paul's school,² who showed me many curious passages out of some ancient Platonists' MSS. concerning the Trinity, which this great and learned person would publish, with many other rare things, if he was encouraged, and eased of the burden of teaching.

25th October. The Archbishop and myself went to Hammersmith, to visit Sir Samuel Morland,³ who was entirely blind; a very mortifying sight. He showed us his invention of writing, which was very ingenious; also his wooden kalendar, which instructed him all by feeling; and other pretty and useful inventions of mills, pumps, etc., and the pump he had erected that serves water to his garden, and to passengers, with an inscription, and brings from a filthy part of the Thames near it a most perfect and pure water. He had newly buried £200 worth of music-books six feet under ground, being, as he said, love-songs and vanity. He plays himself psalms and religious hymns on

¹ [See *ante*, p. 318.]

² See *ante*, p. 316.

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 276.]

the theorbo. Very mild weather the whole of October.

10th November. Mr. Stanhope,¹ Vicar of Lewisham, preached at Whitehall. He is one of the most accomplished preachers I ever heard, for matter, eloquence, action, voice, and I am told, of excellent conversation.

18th. Famous fireworks and very chargeable, the King being returned from his progress. He stayed seven or eight days at Lord Sunderland's at Althorp, where he was mightily entertained. These fireworks were showed before Lord Romney, master of the ordnance,² in St. James's great square, where the King stood.

17th. I spoke to the Archbishop of Canterbury to interest himself for restoring a room belonging to St. James's library, where the books want place.

21st. I went to see Mr. Churchill's collection of rarities.

23rd. To Lambeth, to get Mr. Williams³ continued in Boyle's lectures another year. Amongst others who dined there was Dr. Covel,⁴ the great Oriental traveller.

1st December. I dined at Lord Sunderland's, now the great favourite and underhand politician, but not adventuring on any character, being obnoxious to the people for having twice changed his religion.

23rd. The Parliament wondrous intent on ways

¹ See *ante*, p. 307.

² [Henry Sidney, Earl of Romney, 1641-1704, was Master of the Ordnance in 1693.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 314.]

⁴ Dr. John Covel, 1638-1722, Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, and Chancellor of York. He wrote an account of the Greek Church, which he published just before his death in 1722, in his 85th year. [His manuscript travels are preserved in the British Museum.]

to reform the coin; setting out a Proclamation prohibiting the currency of half-crowns, etc.; which made much confusion among the people.

25th December. Hitherto mild, dark, misty weather. Now snow and frost.

1695-6: *12th January.* Great confusion and distraction by reason of the clipped money, and the difficulty found in reforming it.¹

2nd February. An extraordinary wet season, though temperate as to cold.—The *Royal Sovereign*² man-of-war burnt at Chatham. It was built in 1637, and having given occasion to the levy of Ship-money was perhaps the cause of all the after-troubles to this day.—An earthquake in Dorsetshire by Portland, or rather a sinking of the ground suddenly for a large space, near the quarries of stone, hindering the conveyance of that material for the finishing St. Paul's.

23rd. They now began to coin new money.

26th. There was now a conspiracy³ of about thirty knights, gentlemen, captains, many of them Irish and English Papists, and Nonjurors or Jacobites (so called), to murder King William on the first opportunity of his going either from Kensington, or to hunting, or to the chapel; and, upon signal of fire to be given from Dover Cliff to Calais, an invasion was designed. In order to it there was a great army in readiness, men-of-war and transports, to join a general insurrection here, the Duke of Berwick having secretly come to London to head them, King James attending at

¹ [See *ante*, p. 311. An Act for improving the coinage (7 and 8 Gul. III. c. 1) was now passed. To defray the expense of withdrawing the clipped coin, a sum of £1,200,000 was raised by a house-duty.]

² [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 26. She had been laid up to be rebuilt a second time when she was accidentally burnt, January 27, 1696.]

³ [That known as the "Assassination Plot."]



GREENWICH HOSPITAL

Calais with the French army.¹ It was discovered by some of their own party. £1000 reward was offered to whoever could apprehend any of the thirty named. Most of those who were engaged in it, were taken and secured. The Parliament, City, and all the nation, congratulate the discovery; and votes and resolutions were passed that, if King William should ever be assassinated, it should be revenged on the Papists and party through the nation; an Act of Association² drawing up to empower the Parliament to sit on any such accident, till the Crown should be disposed of according to the late settlement at the Revolution. All Papists, in the meantime, to be banished ten miles from London. This put the nation into an incredible disturbance and general animosity against the French King and King James. The militia of the nation was raised, several regiments were sent for out of Flanders, and all things put in a posture to encounter a descent. This was so timed by the enemy, that whilst we were already much discontented by the greatness of the taxes, and corruption of the money, etc., we had like to have had very few men-of-war near our coasts; but so it pleased God that Admiral Rooke wanting a wind to pursue his voyage to the Straits, that squadron, with others at Portsmouth and other places, were still in the Channel, and were soon brought up to join with the rest of the ships which could be got together, so that there is hope this plot may be broken. I look on it as a very great deliverance and prevention by the providence of God. Though many did formerly pity King James's condition, this design of assassination and bringing over a French

¹ [The fleet under Russell threatened France, and prevented the embarkation of the French troops.]

² [7 and 8 Gul. III. c. 27.]

army, alienated many of his friends, and was likely to produce a more perfect establishment of King William.

1st March. The wind continuing N. and E. all this week, brought so many of our men-of-war together that, though most of the French finding their design detected and prevented, made a shift to get into Calais and Dunkirk roads, we wanting fire-ships and bombs to disturb them; yet they were so engaged among the sands and flats, that 'tis said they cut their masts and flung their great guns overboard to lighten their vessels. We are yet upon them. This deliverance is due solely to God. French were to have invaded at once England, Scotland, and Ireland.

8th. Divers of the conspirators tried and condemned.

Vesuvius breaking out, terrified Naples.—Three of the unhappy wretches, whereof one was a priest, were executed¹ for intending to assassinate the King; they acknowledged their intention, but acquitted King James of inciting them to it, and died very penitent. Divers more in danger, and some very considerable persons.

Great frost and cold.

6th April. I visited Mr. Graham in the Fleet.²

10th. The quarters of Sir William Perkins and Sir John Friend, lately executed on the plot, with Perkins's head, were set up at Temple Bar, a dismal sight, which many pitied. I think there never was such at Temple Bar till now, except once in the time of King Charles II., namely, of Sir Thomas Armstrong.³

12th. A very fine spring season.

19th. Great offence taken at the three

¹ Robert Charnock, Edward King, and Thomas Keys.

² [See *ante*, p. 283.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 128.]

ministers¹ who absolved Sir William Perkins and Friend at Tyburn. One of them (Snatt) was a son of my old schoolmaster.² This produced much altercation as to the canonicalness of the action.

21st April. We had a meeting at Guildhall of the Grand Committee about settling the draught of Greenwich Hospital.

23rd. I went to Eton, and dined with Dr. Godolphin, the provost. The schoolmaster assured me there had not been for twenty years a more pregnant youth in that place than my grandson.— I went to see the King's House at Kensington.³ It is very noble, though not great. The gallery furnished with the best pictures [from] all the houses, of Titian, Raphael, Correggio, Holbein, Julio Romano, Bassano, Vandyck, Tintoretto, and others; a great collection of porcelain; and a pretty private library. The gardens about it very delicious.

26th. Dr. Sharp⁴ preached at the Temple. His prayer before the sermon was one of the most excellent compositions I ever heard.

28th. The Venetian Ambassador made a stately entry with fifty footmen, many on horseback, four rich coaches, and a numerous train of gallants.— More executions this week of the assassins.—Oates dedicated a most villainous reviling book against King James,⁵ which he presumed to present to King William, who could not but abhor it, speaking so infamously and untruly of his late beloved Queen's own father.

¹ Jeremy Collier, William Snatt, and Mr. Cook, all nonjuring clergymen. [Collier concealed himself and was outlawed; Snatt and Cook were for a time imprisoned.]

² [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 8.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 272.]

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 307.]

⁵ [Probably one of the pamphlets entitled *Pictures of King James . . . drawn to Life.*]

2nd May. I dined at Lambeth, being summoned to meet my co-trustees, the Archbishop, Sir Henry Ashurst, and Mr. Serjeant Rotheram,¹ to consult about settling Mr. Boyle's lecture for a perpetuity; which we concluded upon, by buying a rent-charge of £50 per annum, with the stock in our hands.

6th. I went to Lambeth, to meet at dinner the Countess of Sunderland and divers ladies. We dined in the Archbishop's wife's apartment with his Grace, and stayed late; yet I returned to Deptford at night.

13th. I went to London to meet my son, newly come from Ireland, indisposed.²—Money still continuing exceeding scarce, so that none was paid or received, but all was on trust, the Mint not supplying for common necessities. The Association with an oath required of all lawyers and officers, on pain of *præmunire*, whereby men were obliged to renounce King James as no rightful king, and to revenge King William's death, if happening by assassination.³ This to be taken by all the Counsel by a day limited, so that the Courts of Chancery and King's Bench hardly heard any cause in Easter Term, so many crowded to take the oath. This was censured as a very entangling contrivance of the Parliament, in expectation that many in high office would lay down, and others surrender. Many gentlemen taken up on suspicion of the late plot, were now discharged out of prison.

29th. We settled divers officers, and other matters relating to workmen, for the beginning of Greenwich Hospital.

1st June. I went to Deptford to dispose of our goods, in order to letting the house for three years

¹ [See *ante*, p. 292.]

² [See *ante*, p. 294.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 323.]

to Vice-Admiral Benbow,¹ with condition to keep up the garden. This was done soon after.

4th June. A Committee met at Whitehall about Greenwich Hospital, at Sir Christopher Wren's, his Majesty's Surveyor-General. We made the first agreement with divers workmen and for materials; and gave the first order for proceeding on the foundation, and for weekly payments to the workmen, and a general account to be monthly.

11th. Dined at Lord Pembroke's, Lord Privy Seal, a very worthy gentleman.² He showed me divers rare pictures of very many of the old and best masters, especially one of M. Angelo of a man gathering fruit to give to a woman, and a large book of the best drawings of the old masters.—Sir John Fenwick, one of the conspirators, was taken.³ Great subscriptions in Scotland to their East India Company.—Want of current money to carry on the smallest concerns, even for daily provisions in the markets. Guineas lowered to twenty-two shillings, and great sums daily transported to Holland, where it yields more, with other treasure sent to pay the armies, and nothing considerable coined of the new and now only current stamp, cause such a scarcity that tumults are every day feared, nobody paying or receiving money; so imprudent was the late Parliament to condemn the old though clipped and corrupted, till they had provided supplies. To this add the fraud of the

¹ [Captain John Benbow, 1653-1702 (afterwards (1701) Vice-Admiral). He had been wounded at the bombardment of Calais in March of this year. During his intervals of sea service, he resided at Deptford, having a house of his own in Hughes' Fields (Dews' *Deptford*, 1884, p. 189). He was not a "polite tenant" of Sayes Court; but scarcely as bad as Peter the Great.]

² [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 78.]

³ He was taken at a house by the side of the road from Great Bookham to Stoke d'Abernon, in Surrey, near Slyfield-mill. So Bray was told by Evelyn's great-grandson.

bankers and goldsmiths, who having gotten immense riches by extortion, keep up their treasure in expectation of enhancing its value. Duncombe, not long since a mean goldsmith, having made a purchase of the late Duke of Buckingham's estate¹ at near £90,000, and reputed to have near as much in cash. Banks and Lotteries every day set up.

18th June. The famous trial between my Lord Bath and Lord Montagu for an estate of £11,000 a year, left by the Duke of Albemarle, wherein on several trials had been spent £20,000 between them. The Earl of Bath was cast on evident forgery.²

20th. I made my Lord Cheyne³ a visit at Chelsea, and saw those ingenious water-works invented by Mr. Winstanley,⁴ wherein were some things very surprising and extraordinary.

21st. An exceeding rainy, cold, unseasonable summer, yet the city was very healthy.

25th. A trial in the Common Pleas between the Lady Purbeck Temple⁵ and Mr. Temple, a nephew of Sir Purbeck, concerning a deed set up to take place of several wills. This deed was proved to be forged. The cause went on my lady's side. This concerning my son-in-law, Draper, I staid almost all day at Court. A great supper was given to the jury, being persons of the best condition in Buckinghamshire.

¹ At Helmsley, in Yorkshire.

And Hemsley, once proud Buckingham's delight,
Slides to a Scriv'ner or a city-Knight.

POPE, *Imitations of Horace*, Sat. II. Bk. ii. l. 177.

[Sir Charles Duncombe changed the name to Duncombe Park.]

² [See *ante*, p. 306; and *post*, under 2nd September, 1701.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 272.]

⁴ Henry Winstanley, 1644-1703, the architect who built the Eddystone Lighthouse, and perished in it when it was blown down by the great storm in 1703.

⁵ [See *ante*, p. 320.]

30th June. I went with a select Committee of the Commissioners for Greenwich Hospital,¹ and with Sir Christopher Wren, where with him I laid the first stone of the intended foundation, precisely at five o'clock in the evening, after we had dined together. Mr. Flamsteed,² the King's Astronomical Professor, observing the punctual time by instruments.

4th July. Note that my Lord Godolphin was the first of the subscribers who paid any money to this noble fabric.³

¹ The Committee were Sir William Ashurst, Sir Christopher Wren, Sir Thomas Lane, Sir Stephen Evance, John Evelyn, William Draper, Dr. Cade, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Thomas, Captain Gatteridge, Mr. Firmin, Mr. Lake, and Captain Heath.

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 394.]

³ SUBSCRIPTIONS TO GREENWICH HOSPITAL; FROM MR. EVELYN'S PAPERS

The King	£2000	0	0
Archbishop of Canterbury	500	0	0
Lord-Keeper Somers	500	0	0
Duke of Leeds, President of the Council	500	0	0
Earl of Pembroke, Lord Privy Seal	500	0	0
Duke of Devonshire	500	0	0
Duke of Shrewsbury, Secretary of State	500	0	0
Earl of Romney	200	0	0
Earl of Dorset	500	0	0
Lord Montagu	300	0	0
Lord Godolphin, First Commissioner of the Treasury	200	0	0
Mr. Montagu, Chancellor of the Exchequer	100	0	0
Mr. Smith, Commissioner of the Treasury	100	0	0
Lord Chief-Justice Holt	100	0	0
Sir Ste. Fox, Commissioner of the Treasury	200	0	0
Earl of Ranelagh	100	0	0
Sir John Lowther	100	0	0
Mr. Priestman	100	0	0
Sir Geo. Rooke	100	0	0
Sir John Houblon	100	0	0
Lord Chief-Justice Treby	100	0	0
Sir Wm. Trumball, Principal Secretary of State	100	0	0
Sir Robt. Rich	100	0	0
Carry forward	£7500	0	0

7th July. A northern wind altering the weather with a continual and impetuous rain of three days and nights, changed it into perfect winter.

12th. Very unseasonable and uncertain weather.

26th. So little money in the nation that Exchequer Tallies, of which I had for £2000 on the best fund in England, the Post-Office, nobody would take at 30 per cent discount.

3rd August. The Bank lending the £200,000 to pay the army in Flanders, that had done nothing

	Brought forward	.	.	£7500	0	0
Sir Hen. Goodrick	.	.	.	50	0	0
Col. Austen	.	.	.	100	0	0
Sir Tho. Lane	.	.	.	100	0	0
Sir Patience Ward	.	.	.	100	0	0
Sir William Ashurst	.	.	.	100	0	0
Sir John Trevor, Master of the Rolls	.	.	.	100	0	0
Mr. Justice Rokeby	.	.	.	50	0	0
Mr. Justice Powell	.	.	.	50	0	0
Mr. Justice Eyre	.	.	.	50	0	0
Lord Chief Baron Ward	.	.	.	66	13	4
Mr. Justice Gregory	.	.	.	50	0	0
Mr. Baron Powell	.	.	.	50	0	0
Earl of Portland	.	.	.	500	0	0
Mr. Baron Powis	.	.	.	40	0	0
Sir Richard Onslow	.	.	.	100	0	0
Mr. Baron Lechmore	.	.	.	40	0	0
				<hr/>		
				£9046 13 4		
				<hr/>		

“By the Committee for the fabric of Greenwich Hospital, Nov. 4, 1696.—Expense of the work already done, £5000 and upwards, towards which the Treasurer had not received above £800, so that they must be obliged to stop the work unless there can be a supply of money both from the tallies that have been assigned for payment of his Majesty's £2000, and the money subscribed by several noblemen and gentlemen; the Secretary was ordered to attend Mr. Lowndes, Secretary to the Lords of the Treasury, to move for an order that the tallies may be fixed on such fund as may be ready money, or that the Treasurer of the Hospital may be directed to dispose of them on the best terms he can; and that the Solicitor, with the Treasurer's clerk, do attend the noblemen and gentlemen that have subscribed, to acquaint them herewith.”

against the enemy, had so exhausted the treasure of the nation, that one could not have borrowed money under 14 or 15 per cent on bills, or on Exchequer Tallies under 30 per cent.—Reasonable good harvest-weather.—I went to Lambeth and dined with the Archbishop, who had been at Court on the complaint against Dr. Thomas Watson, Bishop of St. David's, who was suspended for simony.¹ The Archbishop told me how unsatisfied he was with the Canon-law, and how exceedingly unreasonable all their pleadings appeared to him.

September. Fine seasonable weather, and a great harvest after a cold wet summer. Scarcity in Scotland.

6th. I went to congratulate the marriage of a daughter of Mr. Boscawen to the son of Sir Philip Meadows; she is niece to my Lord Godolphin, married at Lambeth by the Archbishop 30th August.—After above six months' stay in London about Greenwich Hospital, I returned to Wotton.

24th October. Unseasonable stormy weather, and an ill seed-time.

November. Lord Godolphin retired from the Treasury, who was the first Commissioner and most skilful manager of all.

8th. The first frost began fiercely, but lasted not long.—More plots talked of. Search for Jacobites so called.

15th—23rd. Very stormy weather, rain, and inundations.

13th December. Continuance of extreme frost and snow.

1696-7: 17th January. The severe frost and weather relented, but again froze with snow.—

¹ [Dr. Thomas Watson, 1637-1717. He was found guilty and deprived of his see (see *post*, under August, 1699).]

Conspiracies continue against King William. Sir John Fenwick was beheaded.¹

7th February. Severe frost continued with snow. Soldiers in the armies and garrison-towns frozen to death on their posts.

(Here a leaf of the MS. is lost.)

17th August. I came to Wotton after three months' absence.

September. Very bright weather, but with sharp east wind. My son came from London in his melancholy indisposition.

12th. Mr. Duncomb,² the rector, came and preached after an absence of two years, though only living seven or eight miles off [at Ashtead].—Welcome tidings of the Peace.³

3rd October. So great were the storms all this week, that near a thousand people were lost going into the Texel.

16th November. The King's entry very pompous; but is nothing approaching that of King Charles II.

2nd December. Thanksgiving-day for the Peace. The King and a great Court at Whitehall. The Bishop of Salisbury⁴ preached, or rather made a florid panegyric, on 2 Chron. ix. 7, 8.—The evening concluded with fireworks and illuminations of great expense.

5th. Was the first Sunday that St. Paul's had had service performed in it since it was burnt in 1666.

6th. I went to Kensington with the Sheriff, Knights, and chief gentlemen of Surrey, to present their address to the King. The Duke of Norfolk

¹ [See *ante*, p. 327.]

³ [The Peace of Ryswyk.]

² [See *ante*, p. 316.]

⁴ Dr. Burnet.

promised to introduce it,¹ but came so late, that it was presented before he came. This insignificant ceremony was brought in in Cromwell's time, and has ever since continued with offers of life and fortune to whoever happened to have the power. I dined at Sir Richard Onslow's,² who treated almost all the gentlemen of Surrey. When we had half dined, the Duke of Norfolk came in to make his excuse.

12th December. At the Temple Church ; it was very long before the service began, staying for the Comptroller of the Inner Temple, where was to be kept a riotous and revelling Christmas, according to custom.³

18th. At Lambeth, to Dr. Bentley, about the Library at St. James's.⁴

23rd. I returned to Wotton.

1697-8. A great Christmas kept at Wotton, open house, much company. I presented my book of Medals, etc., to divers Noblemen, before I exposed it to sale.⁵

2nd January. Dr. Fulham, who lately married my niece,⁶ preached against Atheism, a very eloquent discourse, somewhat improper for most of the audience at [Wotton], but fitted for some other place, and very apposite to the profane temper of the age.

¹ [He was Lord-Lieutenant of Norfolk, Berkshire, and Surrey. Cf. vol. ii. p. 147.]

² [See *ante*, p. 285.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 180.]

⁴ [Of which Bentley was keeper.]

⁵ [*Numismata. A Discourse of Medals, Antient and Modern. Together with some Account of Heads and Effigies of illustrious, and famous Persons, in Sculps, and Taille-douce, of whom we have no Medals extant ; and of the Use to be derived from them. To which is added a Digression concerning Physiognomy.* By J. Evelyn, Esq., S.R.S. London, 1697, folio. *Numismata* does not seem to have been reprinted (see "Introduction," and *post*, p. 376).]

⁶ [George Evelyn's daughter, Elizabeth.]

5th January. Whitehall burnt, nothing but walls and ruins left.¹

30th. The imprisonment of the great banker, Duncombe: censured by Parliament; acquitted by the Lords; sent again to the Tower by the Commons.²

The Czar of Muscovy being come to England, and having a mind to see the building of ships, hired my house at Sayes Court,³ and made it his

¹ [In the Fourteenth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Appendix, Part iii., 1894, pp. 129-130 and 141, are several references to this fire. Sir James Ogilvie writes to the Earl of Marchmont, 5th January, 1698: "All the palace of Whytehall, at least what was built by King Charles the Second and King James, is burned downe." And Andrew Kineir also writes on the same day: "All the royall apartments with the King's chappell and gward hall, the Duke of Shrewsbury's office, the Treasury Office, Council Chamber, the late King's new chappell, the long gallerys with Devonshire's, Essex's, and Villar's, and severall other lodgings are all consumed. . . . The best account we yet have of the occasion of it was the neglect of a lawndress in Colonel Stanley's lodgings near the river. There are five or six at least destroyed by it, but no persons of any note." From another account it would seem that the Banqueting Hall and Lord Portland's lodgings were almost all that was saved.]

² 25th Jan. 1697-98. Charles Duncombe, Esq., M.P., afterwards Sir Charles (*d.* 1711), was charged with making false endorsements on Exchequer-bills, and was committed close prisoner to the Tower. 29th. Being ill, his apothecary and his brother Anthony Duncombe were permitted to see him. He confessed his guilt, and was expelled the House. A Bill was brought in for seizure of his estate, which was passed 26th Feb. after great opposition, 138 against 103. It was entitled "An Act for punishing C. Duncombe, Esq., for contriving and advising the making false endorsements of several Bills made forth at Receipt of the Exchequer commonly called Exchequer-Bills." This being sent to the Lords, they desired a conference with the Commons, and not being satisfied, though he had acknowledged the fact, they discharged him from the Tower. 31st March, the Commons re-committed him. We do not find, however, in the Journals of the House of Commons, that anything further was done.

³ [That is, Benbow sublet it.] While the Czar Peter was in

court and palace, new furnished for him by the King.

21st April. The Czar went from my house to return home.¹ An exceeding sharp and cold season.

8th May. An extraordinary great snow and frost, nipping the corn and other fruits. Corn at nine shillings a bushel [£18 a load].

80th. I dined at Mr. Pepys', where I heard the rare voice of Mr. Pule, who was lately come from Italy, reputed the most excellent singer we had ever had. He sung several compositions of the late Dr. Purcell.²

5th June. Dr. White, late Bishop of Norwich, who had been ejected for not complying with Government, was buried in St. Gregory's churchyard, or vault, at St. Paul's. His hearse was accompanied by two non-juror Bishops, Dr. Turner of Ely, and Dr. Lloyd, with forty other non-juror clergymen, who would not stay the Office of the burial, because the Dean of St. Paul's had appointed a conforming minister to read the Office; at which all much wondered, there being

his house, Evelyn's servant writes to him: "There is a house full of people, and right nasty. The Czar lies next your library, and dines in the parlour next your study. He dines at ten o'clock and six at night, is very seldom at home a whole day, very often in the King's Yard, or by water, dressed in several dresses. The King is expected here this day; the best parlour is pretty clean for him to be entertained in. The King pays for all he has."

¹ [According to Dews' *Deptford*, 2nd ed., 1884, p. 183, there is (or was) "in one of the old shipbuilding sheds in the Dockyard, now used for housing foreign cattle," "a plain wooden tablet, on which is painted the following inscription:—'Here worked as a ship carpenter, Peter, Czar of all the Russias, afterwards Peter the Great, 1698.'" "A small thoroughfare" (adds Dews) "near the old Dockyard gates is called Czar Street." While at Deptford Peter occasionally attended the Quakers' meeting in Gracechurch Street (White Hart Court), and he was visited by Penn, Whitehead, and other Friends.]

² [D. 1695.]

nothing in that Office which mentioned the present King.

8th June. I went to congratulate the marriage of Mr. Godolphin¹ with the Earl of Marlborough's daughter.

9th. To Deptford, to see how miserably the Czar had left my house, after three months making it his Court. I got Sir Christopher Wren, the King's Surveyor, and Mr. London² his gardener, to go and estimate the repairs, for which they allowed £150 in their report to the Lords of the Treasury. I then went to see the foundation of the Hall and Chapel at Greenwich Hospital.³

6th August. I dined with Mr. Pepys, where was Captain Dampier,⁴ who had been a famous buccaneer, had brought hither the painted Prince Job,⁵ and printed a relation of his very strange adventure, and his observations. He was now going abroad again by the King's encouragement, who furnished a ship of 290 tons.⁶ He seemed a

¹ [Francis Godolphin, whose education Evelyn had superintended (see *ante*, p. 22).]

² [George London (see *ante*, p. 308 n.). Benbow had neglected the house and grounds; but he was nothing to his "Zarish Majesty," who amused himself *inter alia* by driving furiously on a wheel-barrow through Evelyn's magnificent holly hedge, four hundred feet long, nine feet high, and five in diameter (*Sylva*, bk. ii. chap. vi.). In Wren's survey Evelyn's losses were estimated at £162:7s.; Benbow's, at £158:2:6. But much of the damage done was probably irreparable. Full particulars are given in Dews' *Deptford*, 1884, pp. 33-38.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 326.]

⁴ William Dampier, 1652-1715. His *Voyage round the World* (1697) has gone through many editions, and the substance of it has been transferred to many collections of voyages.

⁵ Giolo, of whom there is a very curious portrait, engraved by Savage, to which is subjoined a singular narrative of his wonderful adventures; there is also a smaller one, copied from the above, prefixed to a fictitious account of his life, printed in a 4to pamphlet. Evelyn mentions him in his *Numismata*.

⁶ Noticed in Parliament.

more modest man than one would imagine by the relation of the crew he had assorted with. He brought a map of his observations of the course of the winds in the South Sea, and assured us that the maps hitherto extant were all false as to the Pacific Sea, which he makes on the south of the line, that on the north end running by the coast of Peru being extremely tempestuous.

25th September. Dr. Foy came to me to use my interest with Lord Sunderland for his being made Professor of Physic at Oxford, in the King's gift. I went also to the Archbishop in his behalf.

7th December. Being one of the Council of the Royal Society, I was named to be of the Committee to wait on our new president, the Lord Chancellor,¹ our Secretary, Dr. Sloane, and Sir R. Southwell, last Vice-president, carrying our books of statutes; the Office of the President being read, his Lordship subscribed his name, and took the oaths according to our statutes as a Corporation for the improvement of natural knowledge. Then his Lordship made a short compliment concerning the honour the Society had done him, and how ready he would be to promote so noble a design, and come himself among us, as often as the attendance on the public would permit; and so we took our leave.

18th. Very warm, but exceeding stormy.

1698-9: *January.* My cousin Pierrepont died.² She was daughter to Sir John Evelyn, of Wilts, my father's nephew; she was widow to William Pierrepont, brother to the Marquis of Dorchester, and mother to Evelyn Pierrepont, Earl of Kingston; a most excellent and prudent lady.

The House of Commons persist in refusing more than 7000 men to be a standing army, and no strangers to be in the number. This displeased

¹ [Lord Somers.]

² [See *ante*, p. 222.]

the Court party. Our county member, Sir R. Onslow,¹ opposed it also; which might reconcile him to the people, who began to suspect him.

17th February. My grandson² went to Oxford with Dr. Mander, the Master of Balliol College,³ where he was entered a fellow-commoner.

19th. A most furious wind, such as has not happened for many years, doing great damage to houses and trees, by the fall of which several persons were killed.

5th March. The old East India Company lost their business against the new Company, by ten votes in Parliament, so many of their friends being absent, going to see a tiger baited by dogs.

The persecuted Vaudois, who were banished out of Savoy, were received by the German Protestant Princes.

24th. My only remaining son died after a tedious languishing sickness, contracted in Ireland, and increased here, to my exceeding grief and affliction; leaving me one grandson, now at Oxford, whom I pray God to prosper and be the support of the Wotton family. He was aged forty-four years and about three months. He had been six years one of the Commissioners of

¹ [See *ante*, p. 285.]

² [John Evelyn had returned in 1696 from Ireland (see *ante*, p. 326). Besides translating Rapinus (*ante*, vol. ii. p. 354), he wrote a poem in Greek hexameters, which is prefixed to the second edition of his father's *Sylva*, 1670. He also translated Plutarch's life of *Alexander the Great*, and (out of the French of F. de Chassepol) the lives of the Grand Viziers Mahomet and Achmet Coprogli. He was a contributor of verse to Dryden's *Miscellanies* and Nichols's *Collection*. His marriage is recorded at p. 43 of this volume; his burial, *infra*, 30th March. John Evelyn, referred to above (17th February) as being at Oxford, was his second son. He succeeded his grandfather at Wotton, was made a baronet in 1713, and died in 1763.]

³ Dr. Roger Mander was elected Master of his College, in the place of Dr. John Venn, 1647-87.

the Revenue in Ireland, with great ability and reputation.¹

26th March. After an extraordinary storm, there came up the Thames a whale which was fifty-six feet long. Such, and a larger of the spout kind, was killed there forty years ago (June, 1658).² That year died Cromwell.

30th. My deceased son was buried in the vault at Wotton, according to his desire.

The Duke of Devon lost £1900 at a horse-race at Newmarket.

The King preferring his young favourite Earl of Albemarle³ to be first Commander of his Guard, the Duke of Ormonde laid down his commission. This of the Dutch Lord passing over his head, was exceedingly resented by everybody.

April. Lord Spencer purchased an incomparable library⁴ of wherein, among other rare books, were several that were printed at the first invention of that wonderful art, as particularly *Tully's Offices, etc.* There was a Homer and a Suidas in a very good Greek character and good paper, almost as ancient. This gentleman is a very fine scholar, whom from a child I have known. His tutor was one Florival of Geneva.

29th. I dined with the Archbishop; but my business was to get him to persuade the King to purchase the late Bishop of Worcester's library, and build a place for his own library at St. James's, in the Park, the present one being too small.

3rd May. At a meeting of the Royal Society I was nominated to be of the Committee to wait on the Lord Chancellor to move the King to purchase the Bishop of Worcester's library (Dr. Edward Stillingfleet).

¹ [See *ante*, p. 297.]

² See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 131.

³ Arnold Joost Van Keppel, 1669-1718, first Earl of Albemarle.

⁴ The foundation of the noble library now at Blenheim.

4th May. The Court party have little influence in this Session.

7th. The Duke of Ormonde restored to his commission.—All Lotteries, till now cheating the people, to be no longer permitted than to Christmas, except that for the benefit of Greenwich Hospital. Mr. Bridgman, chairman of the committee for that charitable work, died; a great loss to it. He was Clerk of the Council, a very industrious useful man. I saw the library of Dr. John Moore,¹ Bishop of Norwich, one of the best and most ample collections of all sorts of good books in England, and he, one of the most learned men.

11th June. After a long drought, we had a refreshing shower. The day before, there was a dreadful fire at Rotherhithe, near the Thames side, which burnt divers ships, and consumed near three hundred houses.—Now died the famous Duchess Mazarin;² she had been the richest lady in Europe.

¹ Dr. John Moore, 1646-1714, afterwards Bishop of Ely. King George the First purchased this library after the Bishop's death, for £6000, and presented it to the University of Cambridge, where it now is. [The gift occasioned the following epigrams:—

The King, observing with judicious eyes,
The state of both his universities,
To Oxford sent a troop of horse; and why?
That learned body wanted loyalty;
To Cambridge books he sent, as well discerning
How much that loyal body wanted learning.

To this, attributed to Dr. Joseph Trapp, afterwards first Professor of Poetry at Oxford, Sir William Browne wrote the following extempore and excellent reply:—

The King to Oxford sent a troop of horse,
For Tories own no argument but force;
With equal skill to Cambridge books he sent,
For Whigs admit no force but argument.]

² [2nd July, 1699, at Chelsea, in a small house which she rented of Lord Cheyne. James II. had continued her pension, as she was related to his wife; and William III. gave her £2000. But her prodigality was unbounded. According to Lysons, it was at last usual for the nobility and others, who dined at her house, to leave money under their plates to pay for their entertainment. (See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 394.).]

She was niece of Cardinal Mazarin, and was married to the richest subject in Europe, as is said. She was born at Rome, educated in France, and was an extraordinary beauty and wit, but dissolute and impatient of matrimonial restraint, so as to be abandoned by her husband, and banished, when she came into England for shelter, lived on a pension given her here, and is reported to have hastened her death by intemperate drinking strong spirits. She has written her own story and adventures, and so has her other extravagant sister, wife to the noble family of Colonna.¹

15th June. This week died Conyers Seymour, son of Sir Edward Seymour, killed in a duel caused by a slight affront in St. James's Park, given him by one who was envious of his gallantries; for he was a vain foppish young man, who made a great *éclat* about town by his splendid equipage and boundless expense. He was about twenty-three years old; his brother, now at Oxford, inherited an estate of £7000 a year, which had fallen to him not two years before.

19th. My cousin, George Evelyn of Nutfield,² died suddenly.

25th. The heat has been so great, almost all this month, that I do not remember to have felt much greater in Italy, and this after a winter the wettest, though not the coldest, that I remember for fifty years last past.

28th. Finding my occasions called me so often to London, I took the remainder of the lease my son had in a house in Dover Street,³ to

¹ [Marie Mancini, 1640-1715. She had married in 1661 the Prince of Colonna, Grand Constable of Naples, and had separated from him.]

² [B. 1641,—the fourth son of Sir John Evelyn of Godstone, d. 1648, and heir to his brother, also Sir John Evelyn, d. 1671.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 287.]

which I now removed, not taking my goods from Wotton.

23rd July. Seasonable showers, after a continuance of excessive drought and heat.

August. I drank the Shooters' Hill waters.¹ At Deptford, they had been building a pretty new church.—The Bishop of St. David's [Watson] deprived for simony.²—The city of Moscow burnt by the throwing of squibs.

3rd September. There was in this week an eclipse of the sun, at which many were frightened by the predictions of the astrologers. I remember fifty years ago that many were so terrified by Lilly, that they durst not go out of their houses.—A strange earthquake at New Batavia, in the East Indies.

4th October. My worthy brother³ died at Wotton, in the 83rd year of his age, of perfect memory and understanding. He was religious, sober, and temperate, and of so hospitable a nature, that no family in the county maintained that ancient custom of keeping, as it were, open house the whole year in the same manner, or gave more noble or free entertainment to the county on all occasions, so that his house was never free. There were sometimes twenty persons more than his family, and some that stayed there all the summer, to his no small expense; by this he gained the universal love of the county. He was born at Wotton, went from the free-school at Guildford to Trinity College, Oxford, thence to the Middle Temple, as gentlemen of the best quality did, but without intention to study the law as a profession. He married the daughter of Caldwell,⁴ of a worthy

¹ [Once famous. William Godbid wrote an account of them in 1673.]

² See *ante*, p. 331.

³ [George Evelyn of Wotton, *d.* 5th October, 1699, aged 82.]

⁴ [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 19.]

and ancient family in Leicestershire, by whom he had one son; she dying in 1648, left George her son an infant, who being educated liberally, after travelling abroad,¹ returned and married one Mrs. Gore, by whom he had several children, but only three daughters survived. He was a young man of good understanding, but, over-indulging his ease and pleasure, grew so very corpulent, contrary to the constitution of the rest of his father's relations, that he died.² My brother afterwards married a noble and honourable lady, relict of Sir John Cotton, she being an Offley, a worthy and ancient Staffordshire family, by whom he had several children of both sexes. This lady died, leaving only two daughters and a son. The younger daughter died before marriage; the other afterwards married Sir Cyril Wyche,³ a noble and learned gentleman, son of Sir — Wyche⁴ (who had been Ambassador at Constantinople), and was afterwards made one of the Lords Justices of Ireland. Before this marriage, her only brother married the daughter of — Eversfield, of Sussex,⁵ of an honourable family, but left a widow without any child living; he died about 1691, and his wife not many years after, and my brother resettled the whole estate on me. His sister, Wyche, had a

¹ In a letter to his nephew, George Evelyn, then on his travels in Italy, dated 30th March, 1664, Evelyn tells him that his father complained of his expenses, as much exceeding those of his own, which were known to the young gentleman's father, as all the money passed through his hands. He says that when he travelled he kept a servant, sometimes two, entertained several masters, and made no inconsiderable collection of curiosities, all within £300 *per ann.*—In the same letter, he desires seeds of the ilex, phyllirea, myrtle, jessamine, which he says are rare in England.

² [In 1676.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 295.]

⁴ [Sir Peter Wyche, *d.* 1648. He was English Ambassador at Constantinople, 1627-41.]

⁵ [See *ante*, p. 44.]

portion of £6000, to which was added about £800 more; the three other daughters, with what I added, had about £5000 each. My brother died on the 5th October, in a good old age and great reputation, making his beloved daughter, Lady Wyche, sole executrix, leaving me only his library and some pictures of my father, mother, etc. She buried him with extraordinary solemnity, rather as a nobleman than as a private gentleman. There were, as I computed, above 2000 persons at the funeral, all the gentlemen of the county doing him the last honours. I returned to London, till my lady should dispose of herself and family.

21st October. After an unusual warm and pleasant season, we were surprised with a very sharp frost. I presented my *Acetaria*,¹ dedicated to my Lord Chancellor,² who returned me thanks in an extraordinary civil letter.

15th November. There happened this week so thick a mist and fog, that people lost their way in the streets, it being so intense that no light of candles, or torches, yielded any (or but very little) direction. I was in it, and in danger. Robberies were committed between the very lights which were fixed between London and Kensington on both sides, and whilst coaches and travellers were passing. It began about four in the afternoon, and was quite gone by eight, without any wind to disperse it. At the Thames, they beat drums to direct the watermen to make the shore.

19th. At our chapel in the evening there was a sermon preached by young Mr. Horneck,³ chaplain to Lord Guildford, whose lady's funeral had been celebrated magnificently the Thursday before. A

¹ [*Acetaria: a Discourse of Sallets*. By J. E., S.R.S. It is reprinted in the *Miscellaneous Writings*, pp. 721-811.]

² [Lord John Somers of Evesham.]

³ Of the character of this gentleman's father, see *ante*, p. 98.

panegyric was now pronounced, describing the extraordinary piety and excellently employed life of this amiable young lady. She died in childbed a few days before, to the excessive sorrow of her husband, who ordered the preacher to declare that it was on her exemplary life, exhortations and persuasion, that he totally changed the course of his life, which was before in great danger of being perverted; following the mode of this dissolute age. Her devotion, early piety, charity, fastings, economy, disposition of her time in reading, praying, recollections in her own hand-writing of what she heard and read, and her conversation were most exemplary.

24th November. I signed Dr. Blackwall's election to be the next year's Boyle Lecturer.

Such horrible robberies and murders were committed, as had not been known in this nation; atheism, profaneness, blasphemy, amongst all sorts, portended some judgment if not amended; on which a society was set on foot, who obliged themselves to endeavour the reforming of it, in London and other places, and began to punish offenders and put the laws in more strict execution: which God Almighty prosper!¹—A gentle, calm, dry, temperate weather all this season of the year, but now came sharp, hard frost, and mist, but calm.

3rd December. Calm, bright, and warm as in the middle of April. So continued on 21st Jan.—A great earthquake in Portugal.

The Parliament reverses the prodigious donations of the Irish forfeitures, which were intended to be set apart for discharging the vast national debt.

¹ [See *post*, under 24th March, 1700. There is a history of these attempts in Josiah Woodward's *Account of the Societies for Reformation of Manners, in London and Westminster and other Parts, etc.*, 1699, 6th ed., 1744.]

They called some great persons in the highest offices in question for setting the Great Seal to the pardon of an arch-pirate,¹ who had turned pirate again, and brought prizes into the West Indies, suspected to be connived at on sharing the prey; but the prevailing part in the House called Courtiers, outvoted the complaints, not by being more in number, but by the country-party being negligent in attendance.

1699-1700 : 14th January. Dr. Lancaster, Vicar of St. Martin's, dismissed Mr. Stringfellow,² who had been made the first preacher at our chapel by the Bishop of Lincoln [Dr. Tenison, now Archbishop], whilst he held St. Martin's by dispensation, and put in one Mr. Sandys, much against the inclination of those who frequented the chapel.—The Scotch book about Darien was burnt by the hangman by vote of Parliament.³

21st. Died the Duke of Beaufort,⁴ a person of great honour, prudence, and estate.

25th. I went to Wotton, the first time after my brother's funeral, to furnish the house with necessities, Lady Wyche and my nephew Glanville, the executors, having sold and disposed of what goods were there of my brother's.—The weather was now altering into sharp and hard frost.

¹ The notorious Captain William Kidd. He was hanged in 1701 with some of his accomplices. This was one of the charges brought by the Commons against Lord Somers.

² [See *ante*, p. 287.]

³ The volume alluded to was *An Enquiry into the causes of the Miscarriage of the Scots Colony at Darien : Or an Answer to a Libel, entituled, A Defence of the Scots abdicating Darien*. See Votes of the House of Commons, 15th January, 1699-1700.

⁴ Henry Somerset, 1629-1700, the first Duke, who exerted himself against the Monmouth Rebellion in 1685, and in 1688 endeavoured to secure Bristol against the adherents of the Prince of Orange; upon whose elevation to the throne, the Duke, refusing to take the oaths, lived in retirement till his death.

One Stephens,¹ who preached before the House of Commons on King Charles's Martyrdom, told them that the observation of that day was not intended out of any detestation of his murder, but to be a lesson to other Kings and Rulers, how they ought to behave themselves towards their subjects, lest they should come to the same end. This was so resented that, though it was usual to desire these anniversary-sermons to be printed, they refused thanks to him, and ordered that in future no one should preach before them, who was not either a Dean or a Doctor of Divinity.

4th February. The Parliament voted against the Scots settling in Darien as being prejudicial to our trade with Spain. They also voted that the exorbitant number of attorneys be lessened (now indeed swarming, and evidently causing law-suits and disturbance, eating out the estates of people, provoking them to go to law).

18th. Mild and calm season, with gentle frost, and little mizzling rain. The Vicar of St. Martin's frequently preached at Trinity chapel in the afternoon.

8th March. The season was like April for warmth and mildness.—*11th.* On Wednesday, was a sermon at our chapel, to be continued during Lent.

18th. I was at the funeral of my Lady Temple,² who was buried at Islington, brought from Addiscombe, near Croydon. She left my son-in-law Draper (her nephew)³ the mansion-house of Addiscombe, very nobly and completely furnished, with the estate about it, with plate and jewels, to

¹ William Stephens, 1647-1718, Rector of Sutton, in Surrey. After the censure of his sermon by the House of Commons, he published it as in defiance. [He had written in 1696 an *Account of the Growth of Deism in England.*]

² [Widow of Sir Purbeck Temple (see *ante*, p. 328).]

³ [See *ante*, p. 320.]

the value in all of about £20,000. She was a very prudent lady, gave many great legacies, with £500 to the poor of Islington, where her husband, Sir Purbeck Temple, was buried, both dying without issue.

24th March. The season warm, gentle, and exceeding pleasant.—Divers persons of quality entered into the Society for Reformation of Manners ;¹ and some lectures were set up, particularly in the City of London. The most eminent of the Clergy preached at Bow Church, after reading a declaration set forth by the King to suppress the growing wickedness ; this began already to take some effect as to common swearing, and oaths in the mouths of people of all ranks.

25th. Dr. Burnet preached to-day before the Lord Mayor and a very great congregation, on Proverbs xxvii. 5, 6 : “ Open rebuke is better than secret love ; the wounds of a friend are better than the kisses of an enemy.” He made a very pathetic discourse concerning the necessity and advantage of friendly correction.

April. The Duke of Norfolk now succeeded in obtaining a divorce from his wife² by the Parliament for adultery with Sir John Germaine, a Dutch gamester, of mean extraction, who had got much by gaming ; the Duke had leave to marry again, so that if he should have children, the Dukedom will go from the late Lord Thomas’s children,

¹ [See *ante*, p. 345. “ By this Society some thousands of offenders were brought to justice, and subjected to various penalties, such as whipping, imprisonment, and the payment of fines. Considerable sums of money, obtained from these delinquents, were from time to time given to the poor. After being for several years a terror to evil-doers, this Society was paralysed, and at length broken up, by an adverse decision in one of the civil courts” (Wesley’s *Journal*, 1901, i. p. xiv., Introductory Essay).]

² [See *ante*, p. 2.]

Papists indeed, but very hopeful and virtuous gentlemen, as was their father. The now Duke their uncle is a Protestant.

The Parliament nominated fourteen persons to go into Ireland as Commissioners to dispose of the forfeited estates there, towards payment of the debts incurred by the late war, but which the King had in great measure given to some of his favourites of both sexes, Dutch and others of little merit, and very unseasonably. That this might be done without suspicion of interest in the Parliament, it was ordered that no member of either House should be in the Commission.—The great contest between the Lords and Commons concerning the Lords' power of amendments and rejecting bills tacked to the money-bill, carried for the Commons. However, this tacking of bills is a novel practice, suffered by King Charles II., who, being continually in want of money, let anything pass rather than not have wherewith to feed his extravagance. This was carried but by one voice in the Lords, all the Bishops following the Court, save one: so that near sixty bills passed, to the great triumph of the Commons and Country-party, but high regret of the Court, and those to whom the King had given large estates in Ireland. Pity it is, that things should be brought to this extremity, the government of this nation being so equally poised between King and subject; but we are satisfied with nothing: and, whilst there is no perfection on this side Heaven, methinks both might be contented without straining things too far. Amongst the rest, there passed a law as to Papists' estates, that if one turned not Protestant before eighteen years of age, it should pass to his next Protestant heir. This indeed seemed a hard law, but not only the usage of the French King to his Protestant subjects, but the indiscreet insolence of

the Papists here, going in triumphant and public processions with their Bishops, with banners and trumpets in divers places (as is said) in the northern counties, has brought it on their party.

24th April. This week there was a great change of State-officers.—The Duke of Shrewsbury resigned his Lord Chamberlainship to the Earl of Jersey, the Duke's indisposition requiring his retreat. Mr. Vernon, Secretary of State, was put out.—The Seal was taken from the Lord Chancellor Somers,¹ though he had been acquitted by a great majority of votes for what was charged against him in the House of Commons.² This being in term-time, put some stop to business, many eminent lawyers refusing to accept the office, considering the uncertainty of things in this fluctuating conjecture. It is certain that this Chancellor was a most excellent lawyer, very learned in all polite literature, a superior pen, master of a handsome style, and of easy conversation; but he is said to make too much haste to be rich, as his predecessor, and most in place in this age did, to a more prodigious excess than was ever known. But the Commons had now so mortified the Court-party, and property and liberty were so much invaded in all the neighbouring kingdoms, that their jealousy made them cautious, and every day strengthened the law which protected the people from tyranny.

A most glorious spring, with hope of abundance of fruit of all kinds, and a propitious year.

10th May. The great trial between Sir Walter Clarges and Mr. Sherwin concerning the legitimacy of the late Duke of Albemarle, on which depended

¹ ["His opponents retaliated on him his partisan conduct to the magistrates who did not sign the Association (see *ante*, p. 323), and struck his name out of the commission of the peace, even for his native county (Worcester), where he had large estates" (*Annals of England*, 1876, p. 521).]

² *Post*, p. 357.

an estate of £1500 a year; the verdict was given for Sir Walter.¹—19th. Serjeant Wright² at last accepted the Great Seal.

24th May. I went from Dover Street to Wotton, for the rest of the summer, and removed thither the rest of my goods from Sayes Court.

2nd June. A sweet season, with a mixture of refreshing showers.

9th—16th. In the afternoon, our clergyman had a Catechism, which was continued for some time.

July. I was visited with illness, but it pleased God that I recovered, for which praise be ascribed to Him by me, and that He has again so graciously advertised me of my duty to prepare for my latter end, which at my great age cannot be far off.

The Duke of Gloucester, son of the Princess Anne of Denmark, died of the small-pox.³

18th. I went to Marden, which was originally a barren warren bought by Sir Robert Clayton,⁴ who built there a pretty house, and made such alteration by planting not only an infinite store of the best fruit; but so changed the natural situation of the hill, valleys, and solitary mountains about it, that it rather represented some foreign country, which would produce spontaneously pines,

¹ [Monck's "laundress-Duchess," Ann Clarges, had previously been married to one Thomas Ratford, "of whose death no notice was given at the time of the marriage [to Monck], so that the legitimacy of Christopher, afterwards second Duke of Albemarle, was seriously questioned" (*Wheatley's Samuel Pepys and the World he lived in*, 1880, p. 184).]

² Sir Nathan Wright, 1654-1721, appointed Lord-Keeper, who purchased the manor of, and resided at, Gothurst, near Newport Pagnell, Bucks. He lies buried in that church, in which are whole-length figures in white marble of the Lord-Keeper in his robes, and his son, George Wright, Esquire, Clerk of the Crown, in his official dress.

³ [He died July 30. As he was the heir-presumptive, new measures became necessary to secure the Protestant succession.]

⁴ See *ante*, p. 9.

firs, cypress, yew, holly, and juniper; they were come to their perfect growth, with walks, mazes, etc., amongst them, and were preserved with the utmost care, so that I who had seen it some years before in its naked and barren condition, was in admiration of it. The land was bought of Sir John Evelyn, of Godstone, and was thus improved for pleasure and retirement by the vast charge and industry of this opulent citizen.—He and his lady received us with great civility.—The tombs in the church at Croydon of Archbishops Grindal, Whitgift, and other Archbishops, are fine and venerable; but none comparable to that of the late Archbishop Sheldon, which, being all of white marble, and of a stately ordinance and carvings, far surpassed the rest, and I judge could not cost less than £700 or £800.¹

20th September. I went to Beddington,² the ancient seat of the Carews, in my remembrance a noble old structure, capacious, and in form of the buildings of the age of Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth, and proper for the old English hospitality, but now decaying with the house itself, heretofore adorned with ample gardens, and the first orange trees that had been seen in England, planted in the open ground, and secured in winter only by a tabernacle of boards and stoves removable in summer, that, standing 120 years, large and goodly trees, and laden with fruit, were now in decay, as well as the grotto, fountains, cabinets, and other curiosities in the house and abroad, it being now fallen to a child under age, and only

¹ There is a print of this very beautiful monument in Lysons' *Environs of London*, article Croydon, 2nd ed., 1811, vol. i. p. 131. In the same volume, p. 54, etc., will be found also an ample account of the family of Carew, named in the succeeding entry, and of the house as it then was, together with a portrait of Sir Nicholas Carew, views of the church, monuments, etc.

² [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 9.]

kept by a servant or two from utter dilapidation. The estate and park about it also in decay.

28rd September. I went to visit Mr. Pepys at Clapham, where he has a very noble and wonderfully well-furnished house,¹ especially with Indian and Chinese curiosities. The offices and gardens well accommodated for pleasure and retirement.

81st October. My birthday, now completed the 80th year of my age. I with my soul render thanks to God, who, of His infinite mercy, not only brought me out of many troubles, but this year restored me to health, after an ague and other infirmities of so great an age, my sight, hearing, and other senses and faculties tolerable, which I implore Him to continue, with the pardon of my sins past, and grace to acknowledge by my improvement of His goodness the ensuing year, if it be His pleasure to protract my life, that I may be the better prepared for my last day, through the infinite merits of my blessed Saviour, the Lord Jesus, Amen!

5th November. Came the news of my dear grandson (the only male of my family now remaining) being fallen ill of the small-pox at Oxford,² which after the dire effects of it in my family exceedingly afflicted me; but so it pleased my most merciful God that being let blood at his first complaint, and by the extraordinary care of Dr. Mander (Head of the college and now Vice-Chancellor),³ who caused him to be brought and lodged in his own bed and bedchamber, with the advice of his physician and care of his tutor, there were all fair hopes of his recovery, to our infinite comfort. We had a letter every day either from the Vice-Chancellor himself, or his tutor.

17th. Assurance of his recovery by a letter from himself.

¹ [See *ante*, p. 297.]

² [See *ante*, p. 338.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 338.]

There was a change of great officers at Court. Lord Godolphin returned to his former station of first Commissioner of the Treasury; Sir Charles Hedges Secretary of State.

30th November. At the Royal Society, Lord Somers, the late Chancellor, was continued President.

8th December. Great alterations of officers at Court, and elsewhere—Lord Chief Justice Treby died;¹ he was a learned man in his profession, of which we have now few, never fewer; the Chancery requiring so little skill in deep law-learning, if the practiser can talk eloquently in that Court; so that probably few care to study the law to any purpose. — Lord Marlborough Master of the Ordnance, in place of Lord Romney made Groom of the Stole. The Earl of Rochester goes Lord-Lieutenant to Ireland.

1700-1: January. I finished the sale of North Stoke in Sussex to Robert Michell, Esq., appointed by my brother to be sold for payment of portions to my nieces, and other incumbrances on the estate.

4th. An exceeding deep snow, and melted away as suddenly.

19th. Severe frost, and such a tempest as threw down many chimneys, and did great spoil at sea, and blew down above twenty trees of mine at Wotton.

9th February. The old Speaker laid aside,² and Mr. Harley,³ an able gentleman, chosen. Our

¹ [Sir George Treby, 1644-1700.]

² Sir Thomas Lyttelton, Bart.

³ Robert Harley, 1661-1724, Speaker in three Parliaments in the reign of Queen Anne, Secretary of State, Lord High Treasurer; attempted to be stabbed by Guiscard, a Frenchman, under examination before the Lords of the Privy Council. Afterwards created Earl of Oxford and Mortimer; impeached upon the succession of the House of Hanover.

countryman, Sir Richard Onslow, had a party for him.

27th February. By an order of the House of Commons, I laid before the Speaker the state of what had been received and paid towards the building of Greenwich Hospital.¹

Mr. Wye, Rector of Wotton, died, a very worthy good man. I gave it to Dr. Bohun,² a learned person and excellent preacher, who had been my son's tutor, and lived long in my family.

18th March. I let Sayes Court to Lord Carmarthen,³ son to the Duke of Leeds.—*28th.* I went to the funeral of my sister Draper,⁴ who was buried

¹ JOHN EVELYN, Esq., Dr. to GREENWICH HOSPITAL.

Received in the year—

1696	£3,416	0	0
1697	6,836	15	3
1698	14,967	8	4
1699	14,024	13	4
1700	19,241	1	3
1701, June 16	10,834	2	3
	£69,320	1	5

Per Contra, Creditor.

By the Account in

1696	£5,916	18	7
1697	8,071	10	4
1698	11,585	15	1
1699	19,614	9	8
1700	18,013	8	5
1701	3,000	0	0
Remain in Cash	219	1	4
	£69,320	3	5
	69,320	3	5

Remain in Lottery Tickets } £11,434
 to be paid in ten years }
 More in Malt Tickets } 1,000
 £69,320
 12,434

In all £81,754
 Besides His Majesty £8,000, and Subscriptions.

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 233.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 270.]

⁴ Mother of Evelyn's son-in-law (see *ante*, p. 301).

at Edmonton in great state. Dr. Davenant displeased the clergy now met in Convocation by a passage in his book, p. 40.¹

April. A Dutch boy of about eight or nine years old was carried about by his parents to show, who had about the iris of one eye, the letters of *Deus meus*, and of the other *E'lohim*, in the Hebrew character. How this was done by artifice none could imagine; his parents affirming that he was so born. It did not prejudice his sight, and he seemed to be a lively playing boy. Everybody went to see him; physicians and philosophers examined it with great accuracy, some considered it as artificial, others as almost supernatural.

4th. The Duke of Norfolk² died of an apoplexy, and Mr. Thomas Howard³ of complicated disease since his being cut for the stone; he was one of the Tellers of the Exchequer. Mr. How made a Baron.

May. Some Kentish men delivering a petition to the House of Commons, were imprisoned.⁴

¹ Charles Davenant, LL.D., 1656-1714 (son of Sir William). The book was, *Essays upon the Balance of Power*, and the objectionable passage was that in which he says that many of those lately in power have used their utmost endeavours to discountenance all revealed religion. "Are not many of us able to point to several persons, whom nothing has recommended to places of the highest trust, and often to rich benefices and dignities, but the open enmity which they have, almost from their cradles, professed to the Divinity of Christ?" The Convocation on reading the book, ordered papers to be fixed on several doors in Westminster Abbey, inviting the author, whoever he be, or any one of the many, to point out such persons, that they may be proceeded against.

² [See *ante*, p. 348.]

³ [Son of Sir Robert Howard (see *ante*, p. 285).]

⁴ Justinian Champneys, Thomas Culpepper, William Culpepper, William Hamilton, and David Polhill, gentlemen of considerable property and family in the county. There is a very good print of them in five ovals on one plate, engraved by R. White, in 1701. The petitioners desired the Parliament to mind the

A great dearth, no considerable rain having fallen for some months.

17th May. Very plentiful showers, the wind coming west and south.—The Bishops and Convocation at difference concerning the right of calling the assembly and dissolving. Atterbury¹ and Dr. Wake² writing one against the other.

20th June. The Commons demanded a conference with the Lords on the trial of Lord Somers, which the Lords refused, and proceeding on the trial, the Commons would not attend, and he was acquitted.³

22nd. I went to congratulate the arrival of that worthy and excellent person my Lord Galway, newly come out of Ireland, where he had behaved himself so honestly, and to the exceeding satisfaction of the people; but he was removed thence for being a Frenchman,⁴ though they had not a more worthy, valiant, discreet, and trusty person in the two kingdoms, on whom they could have relied for his conduct and fitness. He was one who had deeply suffered, as well as the Marquis his father, for being Protestants.⁵

July. My Lord Treasurer made my grandson⁶ one of the Commissioners of the prizes, salary £500 per annum.

8th. My grandson went to Sir Simon Harcourt, the Solicitor-General, to Windsor, to wait on my Lord Treasurer. There had been for some time a proposal of marrying my grandson to a daughter

public more, and their private heats less. The presenters were confined till the prorogation, and were much visited. Burnet gives an account of them (*History of His Own Time*, 1734, ii. 275).

¹ Afterwards Bishop of Rochester.

² Afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

³ *Ante*, p. 350.

⁴ [See *ante*, p. 269. He was killed at the battle of Almanza.]

⁵ *Ante*, p. 353.

⁶ [John Evelyn.]

of Mrs. Boscawen,¹ sister of my Lord Treasurer, which was now far advanced.

14th July. I subscribed towards re-building Oakwood Chapel,² now, after 200 years, almost fallen down.

August. The weather changed from heat not much less than in Italy or Spain for some few days, to wet, dripping, and cold, with intermissions of fair.

2nd September. I went to Kensington, and saw the house, plantations, and gardens, the work of Mr. Wise,³ who was there to receive me.

The death of King James happening on the 15th of this month, N.S.,⁴ after two or three days' indisposition, put an end to that unhappy Prince's troubles, after a short and unprosperous reign, indiscreetly attempting to bring in Popery, and make himself absolute, in imitation of the French, hurried on by the impatience of the Jesuits; which the nation would not endure.

Died the Earl of Bath,⁵ whose contest with Lord Montagu about the Duke of Albemarle's estate, claiming under a will supposed to have been forged, is said to have been worth £10,000 to the lawyers. His eldest son shot himself a few days after his father's death; for what cause is not clear. He was a most hopeful young man, and had behaved so bravely against the Turks at the siege of Vienna, that the Emperor made him a Count of the Empire.—It was falsely reported that Sir Edward Seymour⁶ was dead, a great man; he had often been Speaker, Treasurer of the Navy, and in

¹ [John Evelyn married, 18th September, 1705, Anne, daughter of Edward Boscawen, d. 1751.]

² [See *ante*, p. 319.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 308.]

⁴ [6th September, O.S.]

⁵ [John Granville, Earl of Bath, 1628-1701.]

⁶ [See *ante*, p. 303.]

many other lucrative offices. He was of a hasty spirit, not at all sincere, but head of the party at any time prevailing in Parliament.

29th September. I kept my first courts in Surrey, which took up the whole week. My steward was Mr. Hervey,¹ a Councillor, Justice of Peace, and Member of Parliament, and my neighbour. I gave him six guineas, which was a guinea a-day, and to Mr. Martin, his clerk, three guineas.

31st October. I was this day 81 complete, in tolerable health, considering my great age.

December. Great contentions about elections. I gave my vote and interest to Sir R. Onslow and Mr. Weston.²

27th. My grandson³ quitted Oxford.⁴

1701-2: 21st January. At the Royal Society there was read and approved the delineation and description of my Tables of Veins and Arteries,⁵ by Mr. Cowper, the chirurgion, in order to their being engraved.

8th March. The King had a fall from his horse,

¹ Of Betchworth.

² Of Ockham; but Mr. Wessell of Bansted (a merchant) carried it against Mr. Weston.

³ [See *ante*, p. 338.]

⁴ [Under this year Thoresby has an interesting reference to "the famous Mr. Evelyn" :—"1701. The famous Mr. Evelyn, who has published a number of very rare books, was above measure civil and courteous, in showing me many drawings and paintings of his own and his lady's doing; one especially of enamel was surprisingly fine, and this ingenious lady told me the manner how she wrought it, but I was uneasy at his too great civility in leaving an untold heap of gold medals before me, etc. He afterwards carried me in his coach to his son Draper's at the Temple, and showed me many curious pieces of his ingenious daughter's performance, both very small in miniature, and as large as the life in oil colours, equal it is thought to the greatest masters of the age. He gave me a specimen of some prospects he took in Italy, and etched upon the copper by his own hand" (Thoresby's *Diary*, 1830, i. 340-41).]

⁵ See *ante*, vol. i. p. 315; and vol. ii. pp. 64 and 284.

and broke his collar-bone, and having been much indisposed before, and agueish, with a long cough and other weakness, died this Sunday morning, about four o'clock.

I carried my accounts of Greenwich Hospital to the Committee.

12th April. My brother-in-law, Glanville,¹ departed this life this morning after a long languishing illness, leaving a son by my sister, and two grand-daughters.² Our relation and friendship had been long and great. He was a man of excellent parts. He died in the 84th year of his age, and willed his body to be wrapped in lead and carried down to Greenwich, put on board a ship, and buried in the sea, between Dover and Calais, about the Goodwin sands; which was done on the Tuesday, or Wednesday after. This occasioned much discourse, he having no relation at all to the sea. He was a gentleman of an ancient family in Devonshire, and married my sister Jane. By his prudent parsimony he much improved his fortune. He had a place in the Alienation-Office, and might have been an extraordinary man, had he cultivated his parts.

My steward at Wotton gave a very honest account of what he had laid out on repairs, amounting to £1900.

¹ [William Glanville (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 4).]

² One of these daughters became heiress of the family, and married William Evelyn of St. Clere, in Kent, son of George Evelyn of Nutfield. He assumed the name of Glanville; but there being only daughters by this marriage, he had two sons by a second wife, and they resumed the name of Evelyn. The first of those sons left a son who died unmarried before he came of age, and a daughter who married Colonel Hume, who had taken the name of Evelyn, but had no child; the second son of Mr. Glanville Evelyn married Lady Jane Leslie, who became Countess of Rothes in her own right, and left a son, George William, who became Earl of Rothes in right of his mother, and died in 1817, leaving no issue male.

8rd May. The Report of the Committee sent to examine the state of Greenwich Hospital was delivered to the House of Commons, much to their satisfaction.—Lord Godolphin made Lord High Treasurer.

Being elected a member of the Society lately incorporated for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,¹ I subscribed £10 per annum towards the carrying it on. We agreed that every missionary, besides the £20 to set him forth, should have £50 per annum out of the stock of the Corporation, till his settlement was worth to him £100 per annum. We sent a young divine to New York.

22nd June. I dined at the Archbishop's with the new-made Bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Nicolson, my worthy and learned correspondent.²

27th. I went to Wotton with my family for the rest of the summer, and my son-in-law, Draper, with his family,³ came to stay with us, his house at Addiscombe being new-building, so that my family was above thirty.—Most of the new Parliament were chosen of Church of England principles, against the peevish party. The Queen was magnificently entertained at Oxford and all the towns she passed through on her way to Bath.

31st October. Arrived now to the 82nd year of my age, having read over all that passed since this day twelvemonth in these notes, I render solemn thanks to the Lord, imploring the pardon of my past sins, and the assistance of His grace; making new resolutions, and imploring that He will continue His assistance, and prepare me for my blessed Saviour's coming, that I may obtain a comfortable departure, after so long a term as has been hitherto

¹ [It received its charter June 16, 1701.]

² [Dr. William Nicolson, 1655-1727; Bishop of Carlisle, 1702-1718.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 301.]

indulged me. I find by many infirmities this year (especially nephritic pains) that I must decline ; and yet of His infinite mercy retain my intellects and senses in great measure above most of my age. I have this year repaired much of the mansion-house and several tenants' houses, and paid some of my debts and engagements. My wife, children, and family in health : for all which I most sincerely beseech Almighty God to accept of these my acknowledgments, and that if it be His holy will to continue me yet longer, it may be to the praise of His infinite grace, and salvation of my soul. Amen !

8th November. My kinsman, John Evelyn, of Nutfield, a young and very hopeful gentleman, and Member of Parliament,¹ after having come to Wotton to see me, about fifteen days past, went to London and there died of the small-pox. He left a brother, a commander in the army in Holland, to inherit a fair estate.

Our affairs in so prosperous a condition both by sea and land, that there has not been so great an union in Parliament, Court, and people, in memory of man, which God in mercy make us thankful for, and continue ! The Bishop of Exeter² preached before the Queen and both Houses of Parliament at St. Paul's ; they were wonderfully huzzaed in their passage, and splendidly entertained in the city.

December. The expectation now is, what treasure will be found on breaking bulk of the galleon brought from Vigo by Sir George Rooke,³ which being made up in an extraordinary manner in the hold, was not begun to be opened till the 5th of

¹ For Bletchingley, near Reigate, in Surrey.

² [Sir Jonathan Trelawny, 1650-1721 ; Bishop of Exeter, 1689-1707.]

³ [A fleet of Spanish galleons was captured or destroyed by Rooke in the harbour of Vigo, October 12, 1702.]

this month, before two of the Privy Council, two of the chief magistrates of the city, and the Lord Treasurer.

After the excess of honour conferred by the Queen on the Earl of Marlborough, by making him a Knight of the Garter and a Duke, for the success of but one campaign, that he should desire £5000 a-year to be settled on him by Parliament out of the Post-office, was thought a bold and unadvised request, as he had, besides his own considerable estate, above £30,000 a-year in places and employments, with £50,000 at interest. He had married one daughter to the son of my Lord Treasurer Godolphin, another to the Earl of Sunderland, and a third to the Earl of Bridgewater. He is a very handsome person, well-spoken and affable, and supports his want of acquired knowledge by keeping good company.

1702-8. News of Vice-Admiral Benbow's conflict with the French fleet in the West Indies, in which he gallantly behaved himself, and was wounded, and would have had extraordinary success, had not four of his men-of-war stood spectators without coming to his assistance;¹ for this, two of their commanders were tried by a Council of War, and executed;² a third was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, loss of pay, and incapacity to serve in future. The fourth died.

Sir Richard Onslow³ and Mr. Oglethorpe (son of the late Sir Theo. O.)⁴ fought on occasion of

¹ [August 24. Benbow died of his wounds, November 4, 1702.]

² The Captains, Richard Kirby and Cooper Wade, having been tried and condemned to die by a Court-Martial held on them in the West Indies, were sent home in the *Bristol*; and, on its arrival at Portsmouth, were both shot on board, not being suffered to land on English ground.

³ [Sir Richard Onslow, 1654-1717, afterwards Speaker.]

⁴ [Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, 1650-1702.]

some words which passed at a Committee of the House. Mr. Oglethorpe was disarmed.—The Bill against occasional Conformity was lost by one vote.—Corn and provisions so cheap that the farmers are unable to pay their rents.

February. A famous cause at the King's Bench between Mr. Fenwick and his wife,¹ which went for him with a great estate. The Duke of Marlborough lost his only son at Cambridge by the small-pox.—A great earthquake at Rome, etc.—A famous young woman, an Italian, was hired by our comedians to sing on the stage, during so many plays, for which they gave her £500; which part by her voice alone at the end of three scenes she performed with such modesty and grace, and above all with such skill, that there was never any who did anything comparable with their voices. She was to go home to the Court of the King of Prussia, and I believe carried with her out of this vain nation above £1000, everybody coveting to hear her at their private houses.

26th May. This day died Mr. Samuel Pepys, a very worthy, industrious and curious person, none in England exceeding him in knowledge of the navy, in which he had passed through all the most considerable offices, Clerk of the Acts and Secretary of the Admiralty, all which he performed with great integrity. When King James II. went out of England, he laid down his office, and would serve no more; but withdrawing himself from all public affairs, he lived at Clapham with his partner, Mr. Hewer, formerly his clerk, in a very noble

¹ She was daughter and heir of Sir Adam Browne, of Betchworth Castle, in Dorking [see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 98], and married Mr. Fenwick. This suit probably related to a settlement which she had consented to make, by which the estate was limited to them and their issue, and the heir of the survivor. They had one son, who died without issue, and she survived her husband, thereby becoming entitled to dispose of it.

house and sweet place, where he enjoyed the fruit of his labours in great prosperity. He was universally beloved, hospitable, generous, learned in many things, skilled in music, a very great cherisher of learned men of whom he had the conversation. His library¹ and collection of other curiosities were of the most considerable, the models of ships especially. Besides what he published of an account of the navy,² as he found and left it, he had for divers years under his hand the History of the Navy, or *Navalia*, as he called it; but how far advanced, and what will follow of his, is left, I suppose, to his sister's son, Mr. Jackson, a young gentleman, whom Mr. Pepys had educated in all sorts of useful learning, sending him to travel abroad, from whence he returned with extraordinary accomplishments, and worthy to be heir. Mr. Pepys had been for near forty years so much my particular friend, that Mr. Jackson sent me complete mourning, desiring me to be one to hold up the pall at his magnificent obsequies; but my indisposition hindered me from doing him this last office.³

18th June. Rains have been great and continual, and now, near midsummer, cold and wet.

11th July. I went to Addiscombe, sixteen miles from Wotton, to see my son-in-law's new house, the outside, to the coving,⁴ being such excellent brickwork, based with Portland stone, with the pilasters, windows, and within, that I pronounced it in all the points of good and solid architecture to

¹ His valuable library, together with his fine collection of prints, he gave to Magdalen College, Cambridge, where they now remain in a handsome room. [The "Pepysian Treasures" are described in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, February, 1906, *et seq.*]

² [*Memoires relating to the State of the Royal Navy*, 1690.]

³ [He was buried in St. Olave's Church, Crutched Friars, June 5, 1704, in a vault close to his wife's monument.]

⁴ [An arch, or arched projecture.]

be one of the very best gentlemen's houses in Surrey, when finished. I returned to Wotton in the evening, though weary.

25th July. The last week in this month an uncommon long-continued rain, and the Sunday following, thunder and lightning.

12th August. The new Commission for Greenwich Hospital was sealed and opened, at which my son-in-law, Draper,¹ was present, to whom I resigned my office of Treasurer. From August 1696, there had been expended in building £89,364 : 14 : 8.

31st October. This day, being eighty-three years of age, upon examining what concerned me, more particularly the past year, with the great mercies of God preserving me, and in the same measure making my infirmities tolerable, I gave God most hearty and humble thanks, beseeching Him to confirm to me the pardon of my sins past, and to prepare me for a better life by the virtue of His grace and mercy, for the sake of my blessed Saviour.

21st November. The wet and uncomfortable weather staying us from church this morning, our Doctor officiated in my family; at which were present above twenty domestics. He made an excellent discourse on 1 Cor. xv., v. 55, 56, of the vanity of this world and uncertainty of life, and the inexpressible happiness and satisfaction of a holy life, with pertinent inferences to prepare us for death and a future state. I gave him thanks, and told him I took it kindly as my funeral sermon.

26-27th. The effects of the hurricane and tempest of wind, rain, and lightning, through all the nation, especially London, were very dismal.² Many

¹ [See *ante*, p. 301.]

² [This was the "Great Storm" of November 26 to December 1. Two of the persons mentioned by Evelyn were

houses demolished, and people killed. As to my own losses, the subversion of woods and timber, both ornamental and valuable, through my whole estate, and about my house the woods crowning the garden-mount, and growing along the park-meadow, the damage to my own dwelling, farms, and outhouses, is almost tragical, not to be paralleled with anything happening in our age. I am not able to describe it; but submit to the pleasure of Almighty God.

7th December. I removed to Dover Street, where I found all well; but houses, trees, garden, etc., at Sayes Court, suffered very much.

31st. I made up my accounts, paid wages, gave rewards and new-year's gifts, according to custom.

1703-4: January. The King of Spain¹ landing at Portsmouth, came to Windsor, where he was magnificently entertained by the Queen, and behaved himself so nobly, that everybody was taken with his graceful deportment. After two days, having presented the great ladies, and others, with very valuable jewels, he went back to Portsmouth, and immediately embarked for Spain.

16th. The Lord Treasurer gave my grandson² the office of Treasurer of the Stamp Duties, with a salary of £300 a-year.

30th. The fast on the martyrdom of King Charles I. was observed with more than usual solemnity.

May. Dr. Bathurst, President of Trinity College, Oxford, now died,³ I think the oldest acquaintance now left me in the world. He was

killed by it, -Bishop Kidder (*ante*, p. 299), and Penelope Nicholas, wife of Sir John Nicholas, of West Horsley (*ante*, vol. ii. p. 234). It also blew down the Eddystone Lighthouse (see *ante*, p. 328).]

¹ Charles the Third, afterwards Emperor of Germany, by the title of Charles the Sixth.

² [John Evelyn.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 242.]

eighty-six years of age, stark blind, deaf, and memory lost, after having been a person of admirable parts and learning. This is a serious alarm to me. God grant that I may profit by it! He built a very handsome chapel to the college, and his own tomb. He gave a legacy of money, and the third part of his library, to his nephew, Dr. Bohun,¹ who went hence to his funeral.

7th September. This day was celebrated the thanksgiving for the late great victory,² with the utmost pomp and splendour by the Queen, Court, great Officers, Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Companies, etc. The streets were scaffolded from Temple Bar, where the Lord Mayor presented her Majesty with the sword, which she returned. Every Company was ranged under its banners, the City Militia without the rails, which were all hung with cloth suitable to the colour of the banner. The Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, were in their scarlet robes, with caparisoned horses; the Knight Marshal on horseback; the Foot-Guards; the Queen in a rich coach with eight horses, none with her but the Duchess of Marlborough in a very plain garment, the Queen full of jewels. Music and trumpets at every City Company. The great officers of the Crown, Nobility, and Bishops, all in coaches with six horses, besides innumerable servants, went to St. Paul's, where the Dean preached. After this, the Queen went back in the same order to St. James's. The City Companies feasted all the Nobility and Bishops, and illuminated at night. Music for the church and anthems composed by the best masters. The day before was wet and stormy, but this was one of the most serene and calm days that had been all the year.

¹ [He was Rector of Wotton (see *ante*, p. 355).]

² Over the French and Bavarians, at Blenheim, August 2, 1704.

October. The year has been very plentiful.

31st. Being my birthday and the 84th year of my life, after particular reflections on my concerns and passages of the year, I set some considerable time of this day apart, to recollect and examine my state and condition, giving God thanks, and acknowledging His infinite mercies to me and mine, begging His blessing, and imploring His protection for the year following.

December. Lord Clarendon presented me with the three volumes of his father's *History of the Rebellion*.¹

My Lord of Canterbury wrote to me for suffrage for Mr. Clarke's continuance this year in the Boyle Lecture,² which I willingly gave for his excellent performance of this year.

1704-5: 4th January. I dined at Lambeth with the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. King,³ a sharp ready man in politics, as well as very learned.

9th February. I went to wait on my Lord Treasurer, where was the victorious Duke of Marlborough, who came to me and took me by the hand with extraordinary familiarity and civility, as formerly he was used to do, without any alteration of his good-nature. He had a most rich George in a sardonyx set with diamonds of very great value; for the rest, very plain. I had not seen him for some years, and believed he might have forgotten me.

21st. Remarkable fine weather. Agues and small-pox much in every place.

11th March. An exceeding dry season.—Great loss by fire, burning the outhouses and famous

¹ [A mistake. He received them in December, 1702 (Letter to Pepys, 20th January, 1703).]

² [Dr. Samuel Clarke's Boyle Lectures were "On the Being and Attributes of God."]

³ [William King, 1650-1729; Archbishop of Dublin, 1703-29.]

stable of the Earl of Nottingham, at Burley [Rutlandshire],¹ full of rich goods and furniture, by the carelessness of a servant. A little before, the same happened at Lord Pembroke's, at Wilton. The old Countess of Northumberland, Dowager of Algernon Percy, Admiral of the Fleet to King Charles I., died in the 83rd year of her age. She was sister to the Earl of Suffolk, and left a great estate, her jointure to descend to the Duke of Somerset.²

May. The Bailiff of Westminster hanged himself. He had an ill report.

On the death of the Emperor, there was no mourning worn at Court, because there was none at the Imperial Court on the death of King William.

18th. I went to see Sir John Chardin,³ at Turnham-Green, the gardens being very fine, and exceeding well planted with fruit.

20th. Most extravagant expense to debauch and corrupt votes for Parliament members. I sent my grandson with his party of my freeholders to vote for Mr. Harvey, of Combe.⁴

June. The season very dry and hot.—I went to see Dr. Dickinson⁵ the famous chemist. We had long conversation about the philosopher's elixir, which he believed attainable, and had seen projection himself by one who went under the name of Mundanus, who sometimes came among the adepts, but was unknown as to his country, or

¹ [Burley-on-the-Hill (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 88).]

² This Duke had married Elizabeth Percy (see *ante*, p. 74), only daughter and heir to Josceline Percy, the eleventh and last Earl of Northumberland.

³ See *ante*, p. 51.

⁴ Sir Richard Onslow and Sir William Scawen were the other candidates, and succeeded. Harvey was a violent Tory.

⁵ Edmund Dickinson, M.D., 1624-1707, of Merton College, Oxford. [He was King's physician, 1685-88, in which latter year he retired from practice.] He published several things.

abode; of this the Doctor has written a treatise in Latin, full of very astonishing relations. He is a very learned person, formerly a Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford,¹ in which he practised physic, but has now altogether given it over, and lives retired, being very old and infirm, yet continuing chemistry.

I went to Greenwich Hospital, where they now began to take in wounded and worn-out seamen, who are exceeding well provided for. The buildings now going on are very magnificent.

October. Mr. Cowper² made Lord Keeper. Observing how uncertain great officers are of continuing long in their places, he would not accept it, unless £2000 a-year were given him in reversion when he was put out, in consideration of his loss of practice. His predecessors, how little time soever they had the seal, usually got £100,000 and made themselves Barons.—A new Secretary of State.³—Lord Abington, Lieutenant of the Tower, displaced, and General Churchill, brother to the Duke of Marlborough, put in. An indication of great unsteadiness somewhere, but thus the crafty Whig party (as called) begin to change the face of the Court, in opposition to the High Churchmen, which was another distinction of a party from the Low Churchmen. The Parliament chose one Mr. Smith, Speaker.⁴ There had

¹ He was a Fellow of Merton. Evelyn must have mistaken Dr. Dickinson as to his not knowing who Theodore Mundanus was, for in 1686 the Doctor printed a letter to him with his answer from Paris; and in the latter, Mundanus says he made two projections in his presence. (*Biog. Brit.*, 1793, v. 176, art. Dickinson.)

² William Cowper, *d.* 1723, created a Baron in 1706, and Lord Chancellor, afterwards (1718) Viscount Fordwich and first Earl Cowper, by George the First.

³ Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland (see *ante*, p. 238).

⁴ John Smith, 1655-1723, Member for Andover. [He was elected Speaker for three years.]

never been so great an assembly of members on the first day of sitting, being more than 450. The votes both of the old, as well as the new, fell to those called Low Churchmen, contrary to all expectation.

31st October. I am this day arrived to the 85th year of my age. Lord teach me so to number my days to come, that I may apply them to wisdom!

1705-6 : 1st January. Making up my accounts for the past year, paid bills, wages, and new-year's gifts, according to custom. Though much indisposed and in so advanced a stage, I went to our chapel [in London] to give God public thanks, beseeching Almighty God to assist me and my family the ensuing year, if He should yet continue my pilgrimage here, and bring me at last to a better life with Him in His heavenly kingdom. Divers of our friends and relations dined with us this day.

27th. My indisposition increasing, I was exceeding ill this whole week.

[*3rd February.* Notes of the sermons at the chapel in the morning and afternoon, written with his own hand, conclude this Diary.]

. Mr. Evelyn died on the 27th of this month.

APPENDIX VII

I

CRUCIFIX OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

FEB. 1687-8, there was printed what was called "A true and perfect narrative of the strange and unexpected finding the Crucifix and Gold-chain of that pious Prince, St. Edward the King and Confessor, which was found after six hundred and twenty years' interment, and presented to his most Sacred Majesty, King James the Second. By Charles Taylour, Gent. London, printed by J. B., and are to be sold by Randal Taylor, near Stationers' Hall, 1688."

He says, that "on St. Barnaby's Day [11 June], 1685, between 11 and 12 at noon, he went with two friends to see the coffin of Edward the Confessor, having heard that it was broke; fetched a ladder, looked on the coffin and found a hole as reported, put his hand into the hole, and turning the bones which he felt there, drew from under the shoulder-bones a crucifix richly adorned and enamelled, and a golden chain of twenty-four inches long to which it was fixed; showed them to his two friends; was afraid to take them away, till he had acquainted the Dean; put them into the coffin again. But the Dean not being to be spoke with then, and fearing this treasure might be taken by some other, he went two or three hours afterward to one of the choir, acquainted him with what he had found, who accompanied him to the monument, from whence he again drew the crucifix and chain; his friend advised him to keep them, until he could show them to the Dean (the Bishop of Rochester): kept them three weeks before he could speak to the Bishop; went to the Archbishop of York, and showed them; next morning, the Archbishop of York carried him to the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, and showed them. After this, he

procured an exact drawing to be made of them; showed them to Sir William Dugdale.--6th July, the Archbishop of Canterbury told the Bishop of Rochester, who, about four that afternoon, sent for him, and took him to Whitehall, that he might present them to the King; which he did accordingly. The King ordered a new strong wooden coffin to be made to enclose the broken one. The links of the chain oblong, and curiously wrought; the upper part joined by a locket, composed of a large round knob of gold, massy, in circumference as big as a milled shilling, half an inch thick; round this went a wire and half a dozen little beads, hanging loose, running to and again on the same, all of pure gold, finely wrought; on each side of the locket were set two large square stones (supposed to be rubies). From each side of this locket, fixed to two rings of gold, the chain descends, and, meeting below, passes through a square piece of gold, of a convenient bigness, made hollow for the same purpose. This gold wrought into several angles, was painted with divers colours, resembling gems or precious stones, to which the crucifix was joined, yet to be taken off by help of a screw. The form of the cross nearest that of an humettée flory (among the heralds), or rather the [botonée]; yet the pieces not of equal length, the perpendicular beam being near one-fourth part longer than the traverse, as being four inches to the extremity, whilst the other scarce exceeds three; yet all neatly turned at the ends, and the botons enamelled with figures thereon. The cross of the same gold as the chain, but exceeds it by its rich enamel, having on one side a picture of our Saviour Christ in his passion wrought thereon, and an eye from above casting a kind of beam on him; on the reverse, picture of a Benedictine monk in his habit, and on each side of him these capital Roman letters:—

On the right,

(A)
Z A X
A

And on the left,

P
A C
H

This cross is hollow, to be opened by two little screws towards the top, wherein it is presumed some relic might have been conserved. William I. commanded the coffin to be enshrined, and the shrine covered with plates of gold and silver, adorned with pearls and precious stones. About one hundred and thirty-six years after, the Abbot resolved to inspect the body, said to be incorruptible, and, on opening,

found it to be so, being perfect, the limbs flexible: the face covered; Gundolph, Bishop of Rochester, withdrew the cover, but, with great reverence, covered it again, changing the former vestments, and putting on others of equal price. In 1163, Thomas à Becket procured a canonisation of the King, and in the ceremony the Abbot opened the coffin, found the body lying in rich vestments of cloth of gold, having on his feet buskins of purple, and shoes of great price; the body uncorrupted; removed the whole body from the stone repository to another of wood, some assisting at the head, others at the arms and legs; they lifted it gently, and laid the corpse first on tapestry spread on the floor, and then wrapping the same in silken cloths of great value, they put it into the wooden chest, *with all those things that were found in the former, except the gold ring which was on the King's finger, which the Abbot, out of devotion, retained, and ordered it to be kept in the Treasury of the Abbey.*

"In 1226, King Henry III. again removed the coffin to a chapel built for the purpose."

II

EVELYN'S PUBLICATIONS

THE SUBJOINED LIST IS FROM A LETTER OF EVELYN'S TO Dr. Plot, DATED 16 MARCH, 1682-3.

Translations.

1. Of Liberty and Servitude, Lond. 1644 [1649], 12mo.
2. The French Gardener and English Vineyard, 1658, 12mo, 3rd edit. [1672].
3. An Essay on the first Book of Lucretius, 1656, 8vo.
4. Gaspar [Gabriel] Naudæus, Instructions concerning Libraries, 1661, 8vo.
5. A Parallel of the Ancient Architecture with the Modern, with a treatise on Statues, etc., 1664, folio.
6. An Idea of the Perfection of Painting, 1668, 8vo.
7. The Mystery of Jesuitism, 2 parts [1664], 8vo.
8. St. Chrysostom's Golden Book for the Education of Children, out of the Greek, 1659, 12mo.

Original Works.

1. An Apology for the Royal Party, 1659, 4to. Three Editions.

2. Panegyric at his Majesty's Coronation, 1661, folio.
3. Fumifugium, or a prophetic Invective against the Fire and Smoke of London, with its Remedies, 1661, 4to.
4. Sculptura, or the History of the Art of Chalcography, 1662, 8vo.
5. Public Employment, and an active life preferred to Solitude, 1667, 8vo.
6. History of the Three late Impostors, 1669, 8vo.
7. Kalendarium Hortense, 1664, 1676, 8vo. Six Editions.
8. Sylva [1664, 1670], 1679, folio. Three Editions.
9. Terra [1676], 1679. Two Editions [8vo.].
10. Tyrannus, or the Mode [1661], 8vo.
11. The Dignity of Man, etc., not printed, nearly ready.
12. Elysium Britannicum, not printed, nearly ready.

Prepared for the Press.

A Discourse of Medals.—Of Manuscripts.—Of Stones.—
Of Reason in Brute Animals.¹

In a letter to Dr. BEALE,² 11 July, 1679, Evelyn says: "I have sometimes thought of publishing a Treatise of *Acetaria*,³ which (though but one of the chapters of *Elysium Britannicum*) would make a competent volume, accompanied with other necessities, according to my manner; but whilst I as often think of performing my so long-since promised (more universal) Hortulan work, I know not how to take that chapter out, and single it for the press, without some blemish to the rest. When again I consider into what an ocean I am plunged, how much I have written and collected for above these twenty years upon this fruitful and inexhaustible subject (I mean Horticulture) not yet fully digested to my mind, and what insuperable pains it will require to insert the (daily increasing) particulars into what I have already in some measure prepared, and which must of neces-

¹ [The *Numismata*; or, a Discourse of Medals was printed in folio in 1697; the "unfinished Treatise" "Of Manuscripts" occupies pp. 321-36 of vol. ii. of Bray's edition of the *Memoirs*, etc., 1819. The discourses of "Reason in Brute Animals" and "Stones" have not been printed.] There is also at Wotton a chapter of an essay, entitled, "De Baculis [Staves]," which from the proem seems to have been intended as jocular, but it begins with great gravity.

² [John Beale, F.R.S., 1603-83, Rector of Yeovil, Somerset, and Chaplain to Charles II.]

³ [Published 1699, and dedicated to Lord Somers.]

sity be done by my own hand, I am almost out of hope, that I shall ever have strength and leisure to bring it to maturity, having for the last ten years of my life been in perpetual motion, and hardly two months in the year at my own habitation, or conversant with my family.

"You know what my charge and care has been during the late unhappy war with the Hollanders; and what it has cost me as to avocations, and for the procuring money, and attending the Lord Treasurer, etc., to discharge the quarters of many thousands.

"Since that, I have upon me no fewer than three executorships, besides other domestic concerns, either of them enough to distract a more steady and composed genius than is mine.

"Superadd to these the public confusions in church and kingdom (never to be sufficiently deplored), and which cannot but most sensibly touch every sober and honest man.

"In the midst of these disturbances, who but Dr. Beale (that stands upon the tower, looks down unconcernedly on all those tempests) can think of gardens and fish-ponds, and the *délices* and ornaments of peace and tranquillity! With no little conflict and force on my other business, I have yet at last, and as I was able, published a third edition of my *Sylva* [1679], and with such additions as occurred; and this in truth only to pacify the importunity of very many besides the printer, who quite tired me with calling on me for it, and above all, threatening to reprint it with all its former defects, if I did not speedily prevent it. I am only vexed that it proving so popular as in so few years to pass so many impressions, and (as I hear) gratify the avaricious printer with some hundreds of pounds, there had not been some course taken in it for the benefit of our Society. It is apparent, that near £500 has been already gotten by it; but we are not yet economists.

"You know what pillars we have lost: Palmer,¹ Murray,¹ Chester,² Oldenburg,³ etc.; and through what other discouragements we still labour; and therefore you will excuse the zeal and fervour of what I have added in my Epistle to the Reader, if at length it be possible to raise up some generous soul to free us, or emerge out of our difficulties. In all events you will see where my inclinations are fixed, and that love is

¹ Dudley Palmer, 1602-86, and Sir Robert Murray, Knt., d. 1673, two of the first Council of the Royal Society.

² [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 76.]

³ [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 192.]

stronger than death ; and secular affairs, which is the burial of all philosophical speculations and improvements ; though they can never in the least diminish the great esteem I have of your friendship, and the infinite obligations I daily receive from your favours."

Of Books which he had designed to publish, we find various Memoranda in his letters, etc.

In a letter to Mr. BOYLE, 8 [9?] August, 1659, he says he had intended to write a *History of Trades* ; but had given it up, from the great difficulty he found in the attempt.

In another, 23rd Nov., 1664, he says, "One Rhea [qu. Ray?] has published a very useful book concerning the Culture of Flowers ; but it does nothing reach my long-since attempted design on that entire subject, with all its ornaments and circumstances, but God only knows when my opportunities will permit me to bring it to maturity."

In the Preface to the *Acetaria*, published in 1699, he mentions a Work in which he had spent upwards of forty years, and his collections for which had in that time filled several thousand pages. The author of the *Biographia Britannica* believes that this was the work, part of which he had showed to his friends under the title of *Elysium Britannicum*, but which in that Preface he calls "The Plan of a Royal Garden," etc. ; and that his *Acetaria* and *Gardener's Kalendar* were parts of it. This is confirmed by the preceding letter to Dr. Beale.

Amongst the MSS. at Wotton there are parts of two volumes with the running title of *Elysium Britannicum*, consisting of miscellaneous observations on a great variety of subjects, but nothing digested, except a printed sheet of the contents of the intended Work, as follows :—

ELYSIUM BRITANNICUM

IN THREE BOOKS

Præmissis præmittendis, etc.

BOOK I

Chap. 1. A Garden derived and defined, with its distinctions and sorts.—2. Of a Gardener, and how he is to be qualified.—3. Of the Principles and Elements in general.—

Composing the Hortus Hyemalis, and making books of Natural Arid Plants and Flowers, with other curious ways of preserving them in their Natural.—5. Of planting of Flowers, Flowers enamelled in Silk, Wax, and other artificial representations of them.—6. Of Hortulan Entertainments, to show the riches, beauty, wonder, plenty, delight, and use of a Garden-Festival, etc.—7. Of the most famous Gardens in the World, Ancient and Modern.—8. The Description of a Villa.—The Corollary and Conclusion.

Amongst the MSS. at Wotton also, on a separate paper, are the following Memoranda in Evelyn's handwriting:—

“Things I would write out fair and reform, if I had leisure:—

Londinum Redivivum, which I presented to the King three or four days after the Conflagration of that City, 1666.

Pedigree of the Evelyns.

The three remaining Meditations on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, being the remaining course of Offices; to which belongs a Book of Recollection bound in leather.

A Rational Account of the True Religion, or an History of it. With a packet of Notes belonging to it.

Oeconomist to a Married Friend.

The Legend of the Pearl.

Some Letters of mine to Electra and to others in that packet.

The Life of Mrs. Godolphin.

A book of Some Observations, Politica's, and Discourses of that kind.

Thyrsander, a Tragi-Comedy.

Dignity of Mankind.

My own Ephemeris or Diary.

Animadversions upon Spinoza.

Papers concerning Education.

Mathematical papers.”¹


Of the works by Mr. Evelyn actually published, the list now finally subjoined, comprising many which are included in

¹ Of the “things” mentioned in this list as reserved for attention and revision in Evelyn's leisure, the Diary and Letters, and Life of Mrs. Godolphin (see also p. 21 of this volume) have since been given to the world [1818 and 1847]; and the work entitled *A Rational Account of the True Religion, or an History of it*, edited from the MSS. at Wotton, has also been published [1850]. It embodies the researches and reflections of Evelyn's life on the subject to which it relates.

the collection of Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Writings* edited by Mr. Upcott, will, it is believed, be found tolerably accurate.

1. Of Liberty and Servitude, 1649, 12mo.
2. A Character of England, as it was lately presented in a Letter to a Nobleman of France; with Reflections upon Gallus Castratus, 1651 [?], 3rd edit. 1659.
3. The State of France. London, 1652, 8vo.
4. An Essay on the first Book of Lucretius de Rerum Natura, interpreted and made into English Verse, 1656, 8vo. The frontispiece designed by his lady, Mary Evelyn.
5. Dedicatory Epistles, etc., to "The French Gardener." London, 1658, 12mo.—The third edition, in 1672, was illustrated by plates.—In most of the editions is added "The English Vineyard Vindicated, by John Rose, Gardener to King Charles II."
6. The Golden Book of St. Chrysostom, concerning the Education of Children. London, 1659, 12mo.
7. An Apology for the Royal Party, written in a Letter to a person of the late Council of State: with a Touch at the pretended Plea of the Army. London, 1659, in two sheets, 4to. Three editions.
8. The late News from Brussels unmasked. London, 1660, 4to.
9. The manner of the Encounter between the French and Spanish Ambassadors at the Landing of the Swedish Ambassador [1661].
10. A Panegyrick at his Majesty King Charles's Coronation. London, 1661, folio.
11. Instructions concerning the erection of a Library. Written by Gabriel Naudé, published in English with some improvements by John Evelyn, Esq. London, 1661, 8vo.
12. Fumifugium; or the Inconveniency of the Air and Smoke of London dissipated. Together with some remedies humbly proposed by John Evelyn, Esq. London, 1661, 4to, in 5 sheets, addressed to the King and Parliament, and published by his Majesty's express Command.¹
13. Tyrannus; or the Mode; in a Discourse of Sumptuary Laws, 1661, 8vo.
14. Sculptura; or the History and Art of Chalcography and Engraving in Copper and Mezzo-tinto. Lond. 1662, 8vo.
15. Sylva; or a Discourse of Forest-Trees. Lond. 1664, fol.; 2nd edition 1670; 3rd in 1679; 4th in 1706, also in folio.—Pomona is an Appendix; 3rd edition, 1679; 4th,

¹ Reprinted in 1772, in quarto, with an additional Preface.

1706; 5th, 1729.— This learned work has since been several times republished by Dr. A. Hunter, an eminent physician in York, who has rendered it still more valuable by adding to it the observations of later writers.

16. Dedicatory Epistles, etc., to *Parallel of Ancient and Modern Architecture*. London, 1664, folio; 4th edit. 1733, fol.; with the Elements of Architecture by Sir Hen. Wotton.

17. Ditto to “*Μυστήριον τῆς Ἀνομίας*”; another part of the Mystery of Jesuitism. Lond. 1664, 8vo. Two parts.

18. *Kalendarium Hortense*, Lond. 1664, 8vo.—The 2nd and 3rd edit. was in folio, bound with the *Sylva and Pomona*; also reprinted in octavo in 1699.

19. Public Employment and active life preferred to Solitude, in reply to Sir Geo. Mackenzie. Lond. 1667, 8vo.

20. An Idea of the Perfection of Painting, translated from the French of Roland Freart. Lond. 1668, 8vo.

21. History of the Three late famous Impostors. Lond. 1669, 8vo.

22. Navigation and Commerce, their Original and Progress. Lond. 1674, 8vo.

23. *Terra*; a Philosophical Discourse of Earth. Lond. 1676, 8vo.

24. *Mundus Muliebris*. Lond. 1690, 4to.

25. Monsieur de la Quintinye's Complete Gardener, and Treatise of Orange-Trees, translated from the French. Lond. 1693, fol.

26. Advertisement to the Translation of the Compleat Gardener, by M. de la Quintinye, 1693.

27. Ditto to M. de la Quintinye's Directions concerning Melons.

28. Ditto to M. de la Quintinye's Directions concerning Orange-Trees.

29. *Numismata*: a Discourse on Medals. Lond. 1697, fol.

30. *Acetaria*: a Discourse on Salads. Lond. 1699, 8vo.

31. An Account of Architects and Architecture—a tract.

32. Letter to Viscount Brouncker, concerning a new Engine for Ploughing, etc. 1670.

33. Dedication to Renatus Rapinus of Gardens, 1673.

34. Letter to Mr. Aubrey, concerning Surrey Antiquities, 1676.

35. Abstract of a Letter to the Royal Society concerning the damage done to his Gardens in the preceding Winter, 1684.

36. The Diary and Letters. 1818, 1819, 1827.

37. Miscellaneous Writings, collected and edited by Mr. Upcott [1825].

38. Life of Mrs. Godolphin. 1847.

Evelyn had likewise etched [see *ante*, p. 359 n.], when he came to Paris from Italy, five several Prospects of Places which he had drawn on the spot between Rome and Naples, to which he prefixed also a frontispiece, intituled,

"Locorum aliquot insignium et celeberrimorum inter Romam et Neapolin jacentium, *προδείξας* et exemplaria.

"Domino Dom. Thomæ Hensheaw Anglo, omnium eximiarum et præclarissimarum Artium Cultori ac propugnatori maximo, et *συνοψάμενῳ* αὐτῷ (non propter Operis pretium, sed ut singulare Amoris sui Testimonium exhibeat) primas has *ἀδοκιμασίας* Aquâ forti excusas et insculptas, Jo. Evelynus Delineator D. D. C. Q." *R. Hoare excud.*¹

I. Tres Tabernæ sive Appii Forum, celebre illud, in sacris Litteris. Act. 28.

II. Terracini, olim Anxuris, Promontorium.

III. Prospectus versûs Neapolin, a Monte Vesuvio.

IV. Montis Vesuvii Fauces: et Vorago, sive Barathrum internum.

V. Montis Vesuvii juxta Neapolin externa Facies.

He etched also a View of his own Seat at Wotton, then in the possession of his brother, George Evelyn (*ante*, vol. ii. p. 65); and Putney ad Ripam Tamesis—corrected on one impression, by himself, to Battersea (see vol. ii. p. 18).

¹ [According to Walpole's *Catalogue of Engravers* (Dallaway's ed., 1828, pp. 174-77), this only means that the plates, executed at Paris in 1649, were "taken off" by R. Hoare (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 14). There are other etchings at the British Museum; and from a letter to Pepys, dated 20th January, 1668, it seems that Evelyn also made a "Prospect of Medway, while the Hollander rode master in it," from the hill above Gillingham. The original sketch—says Mynors Bright—is in the Bodleian.]

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